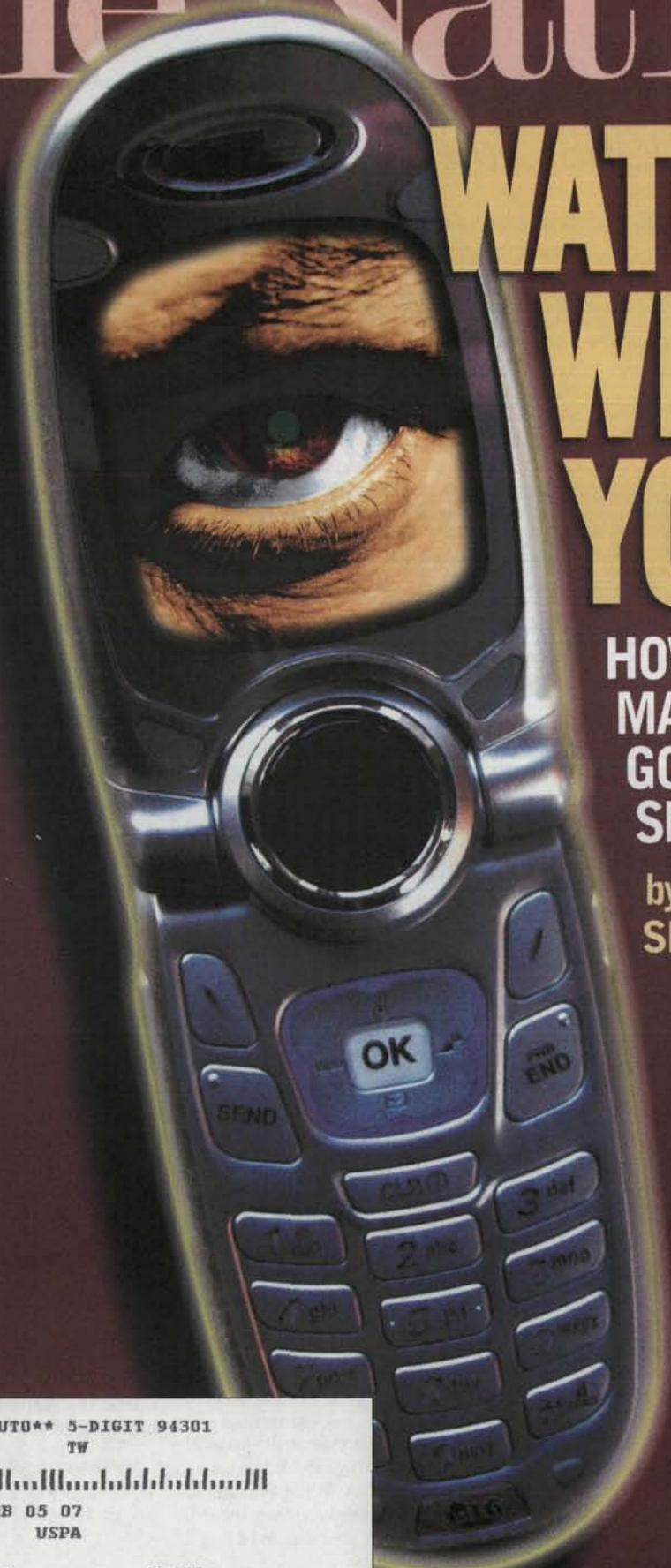
The Nation.

FEAR-MONGERING AND THE DUBAI DEAL
The Editors

DEFUSING THE IRAN CRISIS
Michael T. Klare

HILE LOOKS (SLIGHTLY) LEFT
Pascale Bonnefoy

CRUELTY ND SILENCE N MOROCCO
Laila Lalami



WATCHING WHAT YOU SAY

HOW BIG TELECOM MAY BE HELPING GOVERNMENT SPIES

by TIM SHORROCK

IAR. 20, 2006
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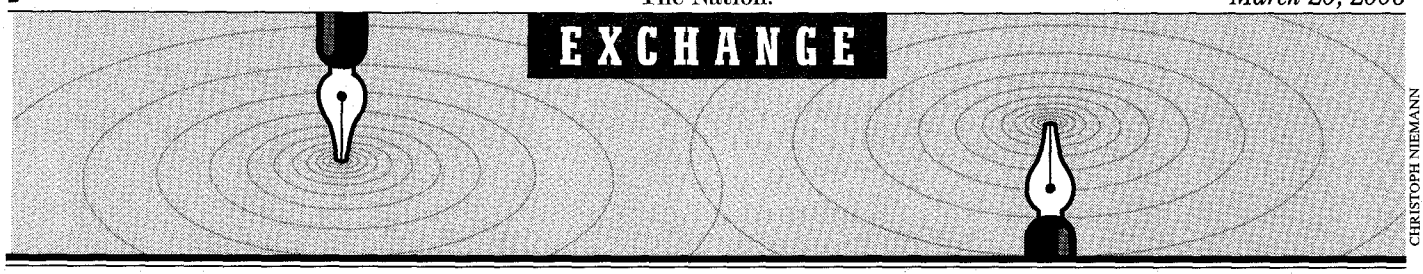

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

November 22, 1963: You Are There

Much mail has come in on the subject of Max Holland's "The JFK Lawyers' Conspiracy" [Feb. 20]. Below are letters from people who believe they, their organization or their views were unfairly represented by Holland and one from an eyewitness to some of the story.

—The Editors

Pennington, NJ

■ I'm the author of *A Farewell to Justice: Jim Garrison, JFK's Assassination and the Case That Should Have Changed History*, my seventeenth book, whose credibility is attacked by Max Holland. *Nation* readers might give pause to Holland's five-year campaign of outright falsehoods about the investigation into the Kennedy assassination by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison that have appeared in a range of publications from *The Wilson Quarterly*, *The Atlantic*, *New Orleans* and the *Washington Post* to, now, *The Nation*.

Garrison focused on the clandestine service of the CIA as sponsor of the Kennedy assassination as a result of facts he discovered about Lee Harvey Oswald, specifically Oswald's role as an FBI informant and low-level CIA agent sent to the Soviet Union by the CIA's Chief of Counterintelligence, James Angleton, as part of a false defector program. What Garrison had not yet discovered was that Oswald also worked for the US Customs Service in New Orleans.

Contrary to Holland's assertions of the innocence of Clay Shaw, the man Garrison indicted for participation in the murder of President Kennedy was indeed part of the implementation of the murder and was guilty of conspiracy. That Shaw was acquitted does not exonerate him for history. New documents indicate overwhelmingly that Shaw did favors for the CIA. On his deathbed he admitted as much. Shaw's repeated appearances in Louisiana in the company of Oswald demonstrate that Shaw was part of the framing of Oswald for Kennedy's murder. Shaw took Oswald to the East Louisiana State Hospital in an attempt to secure him a job there, one event among many never investigated by the Warren Commission or the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA).

Holland's assertion that Garrison based his conclusion that the CIA sponsored the assassination on a series of articles in an Italian newspaper is also incorrect. Garrison had focused on the CIA long before he learned that Shaw was on the board of directors of a CIA-funded phony trade front called Centro Mondiale Commerciale (CMC), based in Rome. Indeed, the newspaper *Paese Sera* broke the story of Shaw's involvement after a six-month investigation into CIA interference in European electoral politics, only to discover that Garrison had indicted Shaw a few days before the first article was to appear. Moreover, the new documents reveal that CMC and its parent outfit, Permindex, were indeed CIA fronts.

The 1992 Assassinations Records and Review Act has disgorged dozens of documents showing that Shaw was a CIA operative. This is directly contrary to what Holland suggests—that Garrison was a willing victim of "the KGB's wildest fantasy." To cite one example, Shaw was cleared for a project dubbed QKENCHANT, which permitted him to recruit outsiders for CIA projects. Shaw was no mere businessman debriefed by the CIA. One document reveals that among those Shaw recruited in New Orleans was Guy Banister, former FBI Chicago Special Agent in Charge running an ersatz New Orleans detective agency whose side-door address (544 Camp Street) Oswald used on a set of his pro-Castro leaflets, until Banister stopped him.

The former editors of the now-defunct *Paese Sera*, whom I interviewed, from Jean-Franco Corsini to Edo Parpalione, insisted adamantly that neither the Italian Communist Party, nor the Soviet Communist Party, nor the KGB had any influence on the paper's editorial policy. Outraged by Holland's accusations, Corsini said that he despised the KGB and the CIA equally.

The roots of Holland's charge that Garrison was a dupe of KGB propaganda may be traced to an April 4, 1967, CIA document titled "Countering Criticism of the Warren Report." In it the CIA suggests to its media assets that they accuse critics of the Warren Report of "Communist sympathies." In April 1967 Garrison was at the height of his investigation: He is clearly the critic the CIA had in mind.

In 1961 Richard Helms had already developed the charge that *Paese Sera* was an outlet for the KGB and for Soviet propaganda. Helms was indignant, but the truth had appeared in *Paese Sera*: The attempted putsch against Charles de Gaulle by four Algerian-based generals had indeed been supported by the CIA. Holland has merely picked up where Helms, later to become a convicted perjurer, left off—repeating a scenario developed for him by Helms, with the addition of making the accusation of Soviet influence on Garrison.

My book is hardly a "hagiography of the DA," as Holland states. I present a flawed man who exhibited great courage in facing down both the FBI and the CIA in his attempt to investigate the murder of the President. Indeed, Garrison family members were dismayed that I did not present him in a more idealized form. I depicted him as an ordinary man who rose to distinction because of his single-minded commitment to the investigation.

Among the many errors in Holland's latest diatribe is that Shaw died "prematurely," as if somehow Garrison's prosecution hastened his end. In fact, Shaw was a lifelong chain smoker and died of lung cancer. Holland attacks Robert Blakey, chief counsel for the HSCA, for using acoustic evidence to suggest that there was a conspiracy in the Kennedy murder. In fact, the acoustic evidence of at least four shots being fired has been established scientifically by Donald Thomas in the British forensic journal *Science and Justice* (see also Thomas's well-documented paper, available online, "Hear No Evil: The Acoustical Evidence in the Kennedy Assassination," delivered November 17, 2001).

Blakey certainly can be criticized for his close relationship with the CIA throughout his HSCA investigation. His letters of agreement with the CIA are at the National Archives. The CIA decided how key witnesses were to be deposed, and Blakey acquiesced in all CIA demands and intrusions upon the investigation.

Before Blakey was hired, former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg considered accepting the job as counsel. Knowing that the CIA had at the least covered up the facts of the assassination and at worst been involved, Goldberg telephoned CIA director Stansfield Turner and asked him whether, should he take the job, he would have full CIA cooperation. Silence emanated over the wires. Goldberg, naïve perhaps, asked Turner if he had heard the question. "I thought my silence was my answer," Turner said. Goldberg declined the job. Blakey took it. It is no surprise that Holland, who has consistently defended the CIA, does not raise the issue of Blakey's cooperation with the CIA during his HSCA tenure but focuses instead on Blakey's conclusion, forced by the irrefutable acoustic evidence, that there was a conspiracy.

It is one thing for Holland to spread his disinformation in the CIA's *Studies in Intelligence*. It is quite another for *The Nation* to allow him continued access without debate to its pages to obfuscate, slander authors like myself and deny evidence fully established—in particular about Jim Garrison and how the new documents establish his credibility and reveal how close he came to the truth, and in general about the Kennedy assassination's sponsors and accessories.

JOAN MELLEN

Charlottesville, Va.

■ It began with a CIA document classified Top Secret. How do I know that? A decade after the

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EDITORIALS

Fearmongering on Dubai

Rise by fear, fall by fear. Having deliberately nurtured a national security panic for the past four-plus years, President George W. Bush richly deserves to be trampled in its latest running: the uproar over his Administration's decision to hand management of six US ports to a state-owned Dubai firm. Bush is cornered by his own bulls—Bill Frist and Dennis Hastert warning darkly of national security threats implied by Arab ownership of American ports, other Republicans accusing him of coddling Dubai's state-socialist enterprise. Democrats, seeing a weakened President, pile gleefully on, but they, too, seem unconcerned about the corrosive implications of national security scares and economic xenophobia.

Although the Coast Guard reportedly warned the President that gaps in intelligence make the risks in the deal involving Dubai Ports World hard to evaluate, the question of mangement-company ownership has little to do with genuine security issues, since the ports are policed by the Guard, Customs and Homeland Security.

The more important public safety problem, as Senator Carl Levin points out with welcome sanity, is that the Administration has long treated the nation's ports as the poor stepchild of transportation security. Of 11 million containers shipped through US ports annually, 95 percent are never inspected or opened; and since the attacks of 9/11 just $630 million has been spent on port security, compared with $18 billion for airports. Human trafficking, drugs and smuggling all flourish thanks to the lax standards of shipping ports and the scant resources made available to police them.

And foreign management of ports is nothing new. The work crews who load and unload vessels in American harbors already draw their paychecks from companies based in Singapore, Denmark, the United Kingdom, Japan and Taiwan. Is DP World more likely to support terrorism than British-owned P&O? No, and thus an unmistakable whiff of anti-Arab bigotry wafts from the argument.

So what's really at stake? It's another case of Democrats and Republicans alike happily promoting corporate globalism with little regard for the public interest until the implications become too embarrassing: in this case, the control of the nation's ports being traded by transnational corporations. If Americans should revolt against the DP World contract it's not because investors come from unpopular places like China or Dubai but for the same reasons that Bolivians revolted against Bechtel Corporation's takeover of water utilities: because American harbors should not be just another commodity to be traded like cotton futures. Rather, they are the people's birthright, as crucial to the transportation infrastructure and economy as highways and airports. It's there that Congressional Democrats should be taking their stand. Yet which Democrat has the nerve to call for a public takeover of the ports?

It's hard not to cheer as the DP World fight blows a big hole in what's left of the Bush Administration agenda, but we must realize that by framing the Dubai deal as a national security threat, Democrats are paradoxically reinforcing Bush's master narrative of a permanent and all-encompassing "war on terror." They are also dangerously enhancing the equation of Islam with terrorism that Bush so deftly exploited to launch the Iraq War.

Democrats should see the panic over the DP World deal as an opportunity for a truly nervy rudder-turn—challenging the toxic premises of Bush's national security policy and confronting the obsession with secrecy that led to the consummation of the deal out of sight of Congress. The Dubai Ports World scandal *is* a scandal—but mainly because it is the latest chapter in this Administration's ongoing, sweeping betrayal of the public interest. Playing to fear is a mug's game that only Bush can win.

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COMMENT

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Defusing the Iran Crisis

Reports that Iran and Russia have reached an agreement on a plan for the joint enrichment of Iran's uranium in Russia have eased fears of a major international confrontation over Iran's nuclear plans. But this danger has by no means been eliminated. Without a permanent resolution of the dispute agreeable to both the United States and Iran, the prospect of an armed clash will grow increasingly severe. Such a clash might not entail full-scale war, but it could trigger an uncontrollable explosion of sectarian and religious strife throughout the Middle East. Preventing such a clash is among the most pressing tasks facing the international community today.

At heart this dispute revolves around Iranian efforts to enrich natural uranium (i.e., increase its content of fissionable U-235) in its own facilities—either for use as a fuel in civilian power plants, as claimed by Tehran, or as the core of nuclear bombs, as claimed by Washington. Enrichment activities of this sort aren't prohibited by the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which Iran signed in 1968, but would constitute a breach if the highly enriched uranium was used for military purposes.

The problem for international regulators is that the enrichment technology used to make civilian reactor fuel—in this case, uranium gas centrifuges—can also be used to make highly enriched uranium, and it's not possible to determine the objective of such an operation until it's well under way. Accordingly, those who fear that Iran is intent on obtaining nuclear weapons seek to prevent *any* enrichment from taking place there; the Iranians, for their part, insist that they have every right under the NPT to conduct such activities for peaceful uses and that interference with that right would constitute an intolerable assault on their sovereignty.

Under pressure from Britain, France and Germany, Iran agreed in 2004 to suspend enrichment activities at its pilot plant in Natanz while negotiating a permanent solution to the dispute. However, when the board of governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency voted on February 4 to communicate its suspicions concerning Iran's nuclear objectives to the United Nations Security Council—a step that could lead to economic sanctions against Iran—Tehran announced that it would terminate its voluntary freeze on enrichment. Since then, Iran has resumed small-scale enrichment at Natanz, thereby upping the ante.

If the plan for a joint Iranian-Russian enrichment enterprise proceeds, and Iran ceases activities at Natanz, the ground will be cleared for a peaceful resolution of the dispute. However, if the Russian plan fails or if the Iranians continue operations, the risk of a crisis will grow. Should the Security Council vote to impose sanctions, Tehran might decide to withdraw from the NPT altogether (as some officials have threatened) and commence an even more ambitious enrichment effort. And should UN sanctions fail to prevent this, pressure from right-wing hawks in Washington for a military solution could prove irresistible in light of George W. Bush's pledge to prevent the emergence of a nuclear-armed Iran.

A unilateral US military strike on Iran would be illegal and imprudent. It would boost domestic support for the hard-line regime of President Ahmadinejad and invite harsh Iranian reprisals, such

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as a violent escalation of sectarian strife in Iraq (where Iran enjoys strong support among Shiite clerics) and attacks on Persian Gulf oil facilities. It is essential, then, to find a compromise.

Fortunately, a solution—the permanent, verifiable cessation of all military-related nuclear activities in Iran under terms acceptable to Tehran—is entirely conceivable. Presumably, such a solution would entail some form of continued Iranian enrichment research (whether in Russia or under tightly controlled conditions in Natanz) along with a US nonaggression pledge and trade concessions. This, in turn, could set the stage for a much-needed overhaul of the NPT and for talks leading to a nuclear-free Middle East and eventually the elimination of all nuclear munitions.

Standing in the way of such a solution are powerful political and emotional impulses on both sides. This is not just a dispute over interpreting the NPT (which could be resolved through technical and legal means); it is also a microcosm of the larger clash between the West and the Islamic world. Suspicion of and hostility toward Muslim countries appears to be growing in Washington—note the reaction in Congress to the idea of a Dubai-based company managing some US ports—and there is scant political will for a resolution of the crisis that might leave Tehran with a sense of vindication. Likewise, any US-dictated solution would be viewed in Iran as a humiliating defeat at the hands of "the Great Satan" and would enjoy little support. Finding a way to defuse the emotional and ideological fervor on both sides of the divide is, therefore, essential for resolving the crisis peacefully.

On the US side, this means accepting Iran as a legitimate negotiating partner and approaching the issues in a professional manner. Negotiating with Tehran doesn't mean endorsing the clerical regime; it simply means being prepared to reach a compromise that's in everyone's best interest. It requires shunning all talk of "regime change" and any inclination to use force. Washington has already adopted such a stance toward North Korea; it must now approach Iran in the same manner. At the same time, Iran's leaders have to hear from their friends in the international community, including Russia and China, that they must cease anti-Israel and anti-Jewish comments that justly provoke international outrage.

A peaceful resolution of the nuclear dispute with Iran is still possible—but only if leaders and citizen groups around the world work much harder to eliminate the obstacles to intelligent compromise.

MICHAEL T. KLARE

Michael T. Klare, The Nation*'s defense correspondent, is professor of peace and world security studies at Hampshire College.*

Chile Looks (Slightly) Left

Santiago

As Chilean socialist Michelle Bachelet takes office as president on March 11, she'll be struggling to maintain a balance between change and continuity. In a country where the political and economic legacies of the Pinochet dictatorship still reverberate, and with continental politics shifting leftward, just how much she leans in one direction or another will be of considerable concern.

Bachelet, 54, won a runoff election on a platform emphasizing education, employment, equal opportunities, pension reform and creation of what she called a "broad social protection system." But it is the persona and personal history of Chile's first woman president that mark a radical departure from most of Chile's political class. Bachelet, an agnostic and a single mother of three, doesn't conform to the traditonal mold of this socially conservative country, although she in fact reflects Chile's real society, where 30 percent of households are run by women and more than half of all children are born out of wedlock.

Bachelet's twenty-member cabinet is half women, something she pledged during her campaign and that, she says, "reflects a new style of government that combines new faces with experience." The prospects for profound social change and reform, however, require something more than symbolism. "Without a doubt, the gender issue is a historical change, but we still can't say how much this will improve the situation of women," says Ricardo Israel, director of the International Center for the Quality of Democracy. "Being a woman isn't enough, just as it wasn't enough for Bolivia's Sánchez de Lozada to have an indigenous vice president or to have a worker in the Brazilian presidency."

The obstacles to significant reform of Chilean society—still plagued with one of the most unequal economies in the hemisphere—remain formidable. Bachelet will lead the fourth consecutive administration of the center-left Concertación Democrática alliance, composed primarily of the Socialist and Christian Democratic parties. In power since the 1990 restoration of democracy, the Concertación government has been marked by what some critics call excessive caution. The Concertación has shifted ideologically to the center of the political spectrum, and its successive presidents have sought only minor reforms to the free-market economy imposed during the Pinochet dictatorship.

With skyrocketing copper prices now pumping tens of millions into the state treasury, expectations among average Chileans are high that Bachelet will plow this bonanza into major social spending programs. Bachelet has announced thirty-six measures for her first 100 days in areas including employment, education and health. In the past, Concertación administrations argued that reform plans were short-circuited by conservative domination of congress, but Bachelet will have no such excuse: In December her allied parties won majorities in both chambers for the first time.

It's not at all clear, however, that Bachelet is willing to break with the neoliberal model her coalition has been managing since the end of the Pinochet regime. Like Salvador Allende, she is a socialist and a doctor, but the comparison stops there. "Latin America is now moving from one development strategy—the Washington Consensus—to a new model of development," says economist Manuel Riesco of the Center of National Studies for Alternative Development. "We have to wait and see if Bachelet also takes steps in that direction, but at least the composition of her cabinet doesn't indicate any changes in that regard. The cabinet seems to reflect continuity of the previous Concertación governments." Indeed, an unexpectedly high number of new ministers (seven of twenty) come from the most conservative wing of her coalition. Economics minister Ingrid Antonijevic is a favorite of the ultra-

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conservative associations of bankers and industrialists.

One of Bachelet's immediate challenges is to reform the pension fund system, privatized by Pinochet in 1981. Among the system's many faults is that while the companies that invest workers' contributions in the stock market (and charge extraordinarily high commissions) are making record profits, about three-fourths of retirees now receive less than the minimum monthly pension of $140. Bachelet's response: a plan to appoint a commission charged with drawing up a reform bill. "Pension reform will seek to improve the system, not replace it," is how Bachelet's official program puts it. Nor is the new government seeking any other major reworkings of neoliberal policies: no word about raising the meager 3 percent royalty paid by foreign mining companies that now control more than 60 percent of copper production, or eliminating legislation that guarantees the armed forces 10 percent of copper sales revenues for military purchases.

Having Bachelet, a former defense minister, as president is seen as an advantage by the Chilean brass, and her relationship with the military is very good, despite her family background. (Her father, an Air Force general considered a traitor by the Pinochet regime, died in custody, and Bachelet, then a medical student, was arrested along with her mother and tortured.)

Although certainly not part of what Washington considers the new "axis of evil" led by Fidel Castro, Hugo Chávez and Evo Morales, and falling short of the more social democratic presidents of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, Bachelet nevertheless has some ideological affinity with leaders in the region, which could offer a platform for dialogue and conflict resolution. In recent years Chile has had conflicts with Peru over maritime borders and weapons sales, with Bolivia over access to the Pacific Ocean and with Argentina for suspending its supply of natural gas to Chile. "Because of Bachelet's understanding of military issues, and particularly geopolitics, she will have a richer view of our relations with neighboring countries," says former diplomat José Rodríguez Elizondo. "During the Lagos administration, Chile gave priority to international economic relations and disregarded international politics as such. We were reaping success outside the region while cultivating problems with our neighbors."

Vowing to give high priority to the region, Bachelet has said that the United States is a "strategic ally," and that Mercosur, the regional economic organization of which Chile is an associate member, and the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, of which Chile has been an enthusiastic supporter, aren't incompatible. She's pledged to seek "a basic FTAA" among Latin American nations while each one negotiates further advances, "according to each country's reality, degree of development and diversity."

Bachelet has said Chile will be a totally different country by the end of her four-year term. Indeed, she may prompt important changes in terms of empowering women, improving the lot of retirees and expanding preschool education. However, by tapping into state coffers only to fill in the social gaps where neoliberal policies have failed, without the structural reforms required to reverse inequality, her administration will probably be remembered more for continuity than for change. PASCALE BONNEFOY

Pascale Bonnefoy is a Chilean freelance journalist who lives in Santiago.

CALVIN TRILLIN

On the Uproar Over Allowing a Dubai Government Company To Run American Ports

Of course the terrorism card's been played
By Bush for years now—making us afraid
With orange alerts and constant talk of war.
With that he's scared off criticism for
Those weapons warnings that were proven phonies,
The no-bid deals he handed to his cronies.
The evil ones, he says, are so abhorrent
He has the right to snoop without a warrant.
The threat is grave, he says, so for a while
He's canceled suspects' right to have a trial.
To criticize his reign, he says, appeases
The bad guys, so he does just what he pleases.
To play the scary card has been his tack.
Is he surprised that someone's played it back?

An Olympian Scandal

Athens

The admirable outcry against warrantless eavesdropping on American citizens would be more admirable if Americans also understood the costs of eavesdropping on foreigners. On February 2 three Greek ministers held a press conference to reveal what the government had kept secret for nearly a year: that a sophisticated, self-concealing software parasite had been recording mobile phone conversations of the Greek prime minister, his wife, the foreign minister, the defense minister and 100 other Vodafone subscribers from before the 2004 Athens Olympics until March 2005, when the bug was removed.

A Vodafone network manager, engaged to be married and with no known personal problems, hanged himself at his home one day after the bugging was originally uncovered last March. He was one of a handful of employees with the access required to install such software. Vodafone firmly denied that the death had any connection to the scandal. No one believes the company. A man died who should have lived. The media vultures around his corpse justify their feeding frenzy with charges of murder.

The story has dominated Greek headlines ever since. The ten-month secret investigation has left too many basic questions unanswered. Journalists have concluded that their government

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$50 million
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COMMENT

did not want to follow where the evidence pointed.

The intercepted calls were forwarded from four cellular antennas. Their coverage circles overlapped atop the US Embassy. The list of victims was also damning. Anyone might eavesdrop on a defense minister, but only one organization still cares about the electrician whose brother-in-law was implicated in the 1975 murder of CIA station chief Richard Welch by the terrorist group called 17 November. One telephone was listed to an inconspicuous Greek-American at the US Embassy. Journalists learned the phone had been lent to the embassy's Greek police security detail.

A Greek government spokesman has insisted that Greece is in no way accusing the United States. The US Embassy and State Department have refused to comment. The Greek justice minister sensibly reminded everyone that this could be a *provokatsia.* British and Israeli security interests resemble America's. Perhaps Mossad had maliciously designed its eavesdropping to incriminate the United States if discovered. For many Greeks, however, the list—Olympics security officials, senior bureaucrats, journalists, Middle Easterners and radical leftists—looked like a snapshot of US intelligence preoccupations during the 2004 Olympics.

The Greek government has no desire to help Greece's rivals by harming the US-Greek relationship. Greek officials are adult enough not to take eavesdropping personally. They rely, however, on the eavesdroppers being artful enough not to get caught.

In espionage scandals it is the victim who gets punished. Failure to preserve the national dignity against foreigners is a hanging offense in every political system in the world. Opposition leader George Papandreou, polite to the point of diffidence under ordinary circumstances, demanded the resignation of the relevant ministers. His fiercer associates plastered their faces across the media with damaging attacks on Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis. A pro-American government has been forced to shift its attention from vital, long-overdue economic reforms to the more urgent task of defending its posterior. A NATO ally has been seriously undermined. What was the compensating benefit?

One problem with secret intelligence is that you cannot use it without cutting off the source. Evidence obtained from illegal eavesdropping never convicted a terrorist or closed an arms deal or brokered a conflict settlement. The difference between what our friends tell us publicly and what they tell one another privately is seldom important enough to matter. Clandestine intelligence collected against allies is mostly a security blanket, an excuse for not reading local newspapers or taking local officials to lunch. Diplomats from small countries do their business adequately without overhearing the prime minister's telephone calls.

The current scandal has a sordid side. Greece bankrupted itself to host a successful Olympiad, including spending $1.2 billion on security. The list of potential terrorists the scandal made public was too threadbare to justify even a fraction of that outlay. By bugging more Greek Olympics security officials than local radicals, the eavesdroppers fueled unworthy speculation that they were less concerned for the safety of athletes and spectators than for the fortunes of SAIC, Beltway bandits about to default on a major Olympics security contract.

US ambassadors have the duty of assessing whether the likely benefits of a covert operation are worth the foreign policy costs of its discovery. Silenced after 9/11, they do not commit bureaucratic suicide by shielding host governments from the CIA's sometimes inept depredations. The United States blunders into fiascoes like Iraq when White House officials, fed context-free snippets of lurid gossip, flatter themselves that they understand foreigners better than the experts on the ground.

Intelligence briefers do not highlight how much their intelligence gathering costs America's friends. Nor will Karamanlis blight his relationship with George W. Bush by complaining. The one secret that never leaks, the secret Washington fights hardest to preserve, is how expensive a luxury America's secrets turn out to be.

JOHN BRADY KIESLING

John Brady Kiesling resigned in protest in February 2003 from his position as the political counselor at the US Embassy in Athens. His book Diplomacy Lessons: Realism for an Unloved Superpower *(Potomac) will appear in June.*

In Fact . . .

AN OMBUDSMAN ON THE PRESS & THE WAR

■ Daniel Okrent, former public editor of the *New York Times*, in a Q & A at Williams College in February, widened his critique of the *Times*'s slack coverage of the run-up to the Iraq War: "I don't think it is fair to say that Judith Miller caused the war in Iraq or that the *New York Times* did. I do think that it is fair to say that general rolling-over on the part of the American press allowed the war to happen. I do believe that that is true.... And I think that the press is extremely chastened by it—that we all know how bad it was."

FEARFUL IN PHOENIX

■ Overheard at a recent conclave of conservatives at David Horowitz's Restoration Weekend in Phoenix: Arizona Representative Jeff Flake warning fellow cons not to take up immigrant-bashing, which backfired against the California GOP. Former Representative Pat Toomey lamenting, "The war in Iraq is the 800-pound gorilla in the room and a major downturn could drown anything we do." Former Colorado State Senator John Andrews mourning: "The Republican Party in my state and nationally is a party that has lost its way." Arizona Representative John Shadegg fretting: The Abramoff scandal "seriously threatens the Republican majority."

THIS WEEK ON THE WEB

■ Arundhati Roy writes that the people of India would be glad if George W. Bush had stayed home. In The Notion, our new blog providing readers with an opportunity to react to contributors' comments, Gary Younge takes aim at a New York producer's decision to cancel *My Name Is Rachel Corrie*, about the American peace demonstrator killed by an Israeli army bulldozer.

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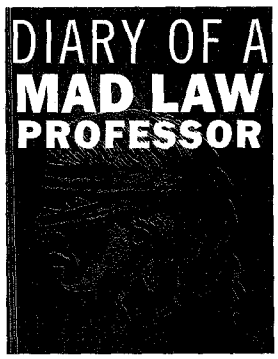
PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Perfect Knowledge, Perfect Ignorance



At a symposium I attended the other day, some of the speakers were pondering the nature of citizenship in the wake of the federal government's response to Hurricane Katrina. What does public office mean to an Administration whose response has been such a casual one to the single worst natural catastrophe in the nation's history? It occurred to me, as the seminar participants sifted through racial and political history for precedent, that the Bush Administration has been quite straightforward about its lack of commitment to civic responsibility: Bush always promised he would run the country like a corporation, and so he has (even if the corporation that springs to mind is Enron). In business ethics good corporate leaders are beholden first and foremost to their investors and trustees, not to the public at large.

If one sees this particular set of politicians less as representatives of popular decision-making and more as trustees of a free-market enterprise, then everything else about this Administration makes a lot more sense. Outsourcing the military to the oil industry is logical. Axing Social Security and Upward Bound as unprofitable frills makes sense. The Lower Ninth Ward will make an attractive golf course, so why "incentivize" the return of low-rent residents? Lobbyists pay to play. Money speaks in the most literal way.

These days, one reads of all sorts of monetarily based "incentives" to improve our society. Churches are reimbursed for their "charitable" acts by "faith-based" government dollars. School systems offer immediate cash rewards for students' attendance or good grades. Sales of soda from machines in school cafeterias pay for paper and pencils—and by the transitive relationship to money, consuming soda becomes the equivalent of good things like school supplies. Indeed, education itself has been reconfigured as a means to more money, not a path to an informed electorate or for instilling anything so quaint as civic virtue.

This kind of direct-exchange monetary reward system is closed, self-referential. I don't want to sound naïve—we live in a capitalist society where almost everything is almost always at least partly a commodified transaction. But since the end of the Civil War, our ideology has at least theoretically separated monetary investment from political participation. That's been a central point of the civil rights movement over the past century: We shouldn't have to be property holders to vote; we shouldn't have to pay the king's courtiers to be granted a hearing. "Due" process is not like paying a bill. It is due by virtue of our citizenship and our humanity. Our worth is not linked to our wealth or the market; our stock as citizens is an unbounded gift, not a stockpile of stuff.

The growing tension between civil rights and a global free market are nowhere more evident than in the flap over the sale of management control in six American ports to a company owned by the state of Dubai. How is one to understand Bush's adamant defense of that sale in view of his repeatedly overbroad demonizations of so much of the Middle East as "evil"? I think part of the answer is premised on a distinction between wealthy corporate entities (even if they're also states, like the Emirates) and "the Arab street." The "street" is to the Emir of Dubai a bit like what the Lower Ninth Ward is to those who live in McMansions on the highest hill. The street represents an absence of purchasing power; the street is why corporations hire security guards and put up walls. When public goods have a price, free-riders, even on the freedom train, will be reclassified as threats or thieves. That disregard for the interests of those who live on the street—literally, in New Orleans—comes as a shock to those of us who still think in terms of our citizenship. But not so to a good businessman like George W. Bush, whose brother Neil's educational software company, Ignite! (sold to school districts as a way to raise test scores so as to comply with the President's No Child Left Behind Act), is largely financed by wealthy individuals within the governments of the United Arab Emirates, including Dubai.

There has been quite a bit of "Arab-bashing" confounding the debate about port control. That said, an equally ominous institutional issue is that this sale was, like warrantless wiretapping, something for which Bush seemed to believe he owed no explanation, needed no consultation. That is the response of a corporate manager—again, maybe not a good one, but not necessarily *ultra vires*. As presidential behavior, however, it raises serious questions about the privatization of executive power.

One of the assumptions by which a free market is justified is that all consumers have "perfect information." This in turn presupposes that all knowledge is free and readily available. In the real world, this is a presumption that burdens the poor more onerously—one can still hear pundits talking about people who "chose" to live on flood plains or "chose" not to be middle class. In such discussions the idea of perfect knowledge sneaks in and substitutes for, or displaces, notions of political equality. No longer do we say that, rich or poor, each of us has an equal right to the basics of survival. Rather, we comfort ourselves with the thought that the poorest resident of the Lower Ninth Ward is as much a rational economic actor as Neil Bush—if only she chose to be.

Yet when I think of the number of times the Bush Administration has professed shock and awe at something most of the rest of us could see a mile away—Congress and Homeland Security ought to be systematically reviewing and cross-checking *all* transactions involving port security, regardless of the nationalities involved; Katrina was coming, the levees will break; Iraq might not be the best choice for an imperial cakewalk; for-profit hospitals and prisons might be more responsive to money-making than to the long-term interests of those who dwell within; the size of our deficit alone!—I wonder if there is a parallel or counter-theory to account for what we may as well call a state of perfect ignorance. ■

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ERIC ALTERMAN

With God on Our Side?

Casual observers of cable television news programming might be forgiven for assuming that Christianity is a religion characterized by a toxic combination of ignorant belligerence and whiny self-pity. Turn on Joe Scarborough's MSNBC show, and you are likely to be greeted by a lunatic named William Donohue, president of something called the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, who complains that "Hollywood is controlled by secular Jews who hate Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular," and that "Hollywood likes anal sex." During the 2004 election campaign, he could be heard lamenting that John Kerry "never found an abortion he couldn't justify" and attacking the publishing industry for its cover-up of the "gay death style." In a more recent Scarborough appearance, Donohue returned to his favorite topic, explaining to viewers that many in "Hollywood"—which, remember, is controlled by you-know-who—love money so much they would happily "sodomize their own mother" onscreen.

In a less flamboyant though more revealing episode last year, CNN's star anchor, Wolf Blitzer, questioned traitorous right-winger Robert Novak and liberal Paul Begala about the death of Pope John Paul II. Blitzer opened the segment by suggesting that while "I am sure Bob is a good Catholic, I am not so sure about Paul Begala." Novak converted from Judaism to an Opus Dei form of Catholicism, while Begala was raised in the faith, remains devout and even named his eldest child John Paul. When he asked Blitzer, "Well, now, who are you to pass moral judgment on my religion, Mr. Blitzer...on the day of my Holy Father's funeral?" adding, "I don't think anybody should presume that a liberal is not a good Catholic" and "The Holy Father is liberal.... The Holy Father bitterly opposed President Bush's war in Iraq. He came to St. Louis—and I was there—and he begged America to give up the death penalty. President Bush strongly supports it, as did President Clinton and others. Many of the Holy Father's views, my church's views, are extraordinarily liberal. I mean, the Pope talked about savage, unbridled capitalism, not Bob Novak's capitalism." The CNN anchor instructed Begala, "Don't be so sensitive," as if he had unflatteringly critiqued Begala's makeup.

The moronic level of cable discourse notwithstanding, missing from almost all discussions of the role of religion in public life is what William James famously termed the "varieties of religious experience." The right-wing hijacking of religion's public role in our political discourse is as undeniable as it is inappropriate, and represents one of liberalism's most serious problems.

In the 2005 election, Virginia Democrat Tim Kaine managed to win the governor's mansion only after the former Catholic missionary convinced skeptical voters that one can be both Christian and anti–death penalty. "My faith teaches me life is sacred," Kaine said, fighting off the accusation that he was a dreaded "liberal."

At a valuable conference on liberals and religion organized by Columbia University's American studies program in mid-February, E.J. Dionne, a liberal and a devout Catholic, conceded that conservatives have a number of natural advantages when seeking to marry religious devotion to politics. They own the word "tradition," for one. And as Russell Kirk pointed out in his 1953 book *The Conservative Mind*, the canons of conservatism tend naturally to appeal to the faithful: Conservatives, he wrote, believe in "a transcendent order, or body of natural law, which rules society as well as conscience." Their attachment to "custom, convention and old prescription" provides a check on "man's anarchic impulse and upon the innovator's lust for power." Liberalism, on the other hand, arose in revolt against many of these same customs and conventions, particularly the oppressive power of the church.

Moreover, as Christopher Lasch once noted, following the 1960s the left made the politically suicidal choice of cultural radicalism, which succeeded, over political and economic radicalism, which failed. Quoting Peter Steinfels, Dionne noted, "American liberalism has shifted its passion from issues of economic deprivation and concentration of power to issues of gender, sexuality, and personal choice.... Once trade unionism, regulation of the market, and various welfare measures were the litmus tests of secular liberalism. Later, desegregation and racial justice were the litmus tests. Today the litmus test is abortion." Liberals, as Michael Kazin put it, have morphed in the public imagination "from people who looked, dressed and sounded like Woody Guthrie to people who look, dress and sound like Woody Allen."

This, in so religious a nation, is not only politically self-defeating but historically atypical. For contemporary liberal rationalists who feel discomfort with the spiritual realm, we have no less an authority than John Dewey, who termed the fundamentalist William Jennings Bryan "the backbone of philanthropic social interest, of social reform through political action, of pacifism, of popular education." As Kazin notes in his brilliant new biography of the Great Commoner, Bryan "transformed his party from a bulwark of conservatism...into a bastion of anticorporate Progressivism." Indeed, he notes, "American progressive reform has never advanced without a moral awakening entangled with notions about what the Lord would have us do."

And luckily we happen to have Christianity's deity on our side. Dionne offered just a few of the texts that liberal politicians and pundits might wish to commit to memory. There is the Gospel that explains, "He has cast down the mighty from their thrones, and has lifted up the lowly. He has filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he has sent away empty!" There's the prophet Isaiah, who commands us to "undo the heavy burdens...let the oppressed go free." Martin Luther King Jr. frequently drew on Amos to insist, "We will not be satisfied until 'justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.'" Jesus demanded we feed the hungry and clothe the naked and tells us we will be judged by how we treat the "least of these my brethren."

If only somebody could tell Scarborough and Blitzer... ■

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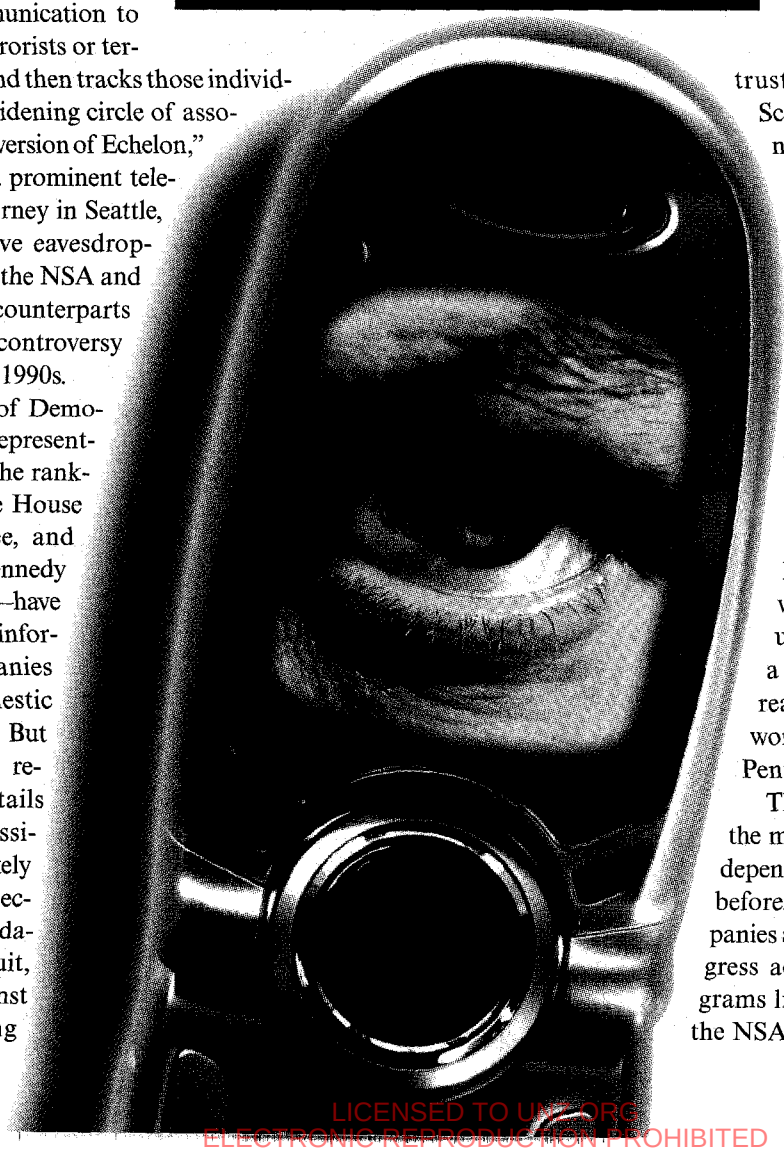
ARTICLES

HOW BIG TELECOM MAY BE HELPING GOVERNMENT SPIES

WATCHING WHAT YOU SAY

by TIM SHORROCK

Two months after the *New York Times* revealed that the Bush Administration ordered the National Security Agency to conduct warrantless surveillance of American citizens, only three corporations—AT&T, Sprint and MCI—have been identified by the media as cooperating. If the reports in the *Times* and other newspapers are true, these companies have allowed the NSA to intercept thousands of telephone calls, fax messages and e-mails without warrants from a special oversight court established by Congress under the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). Some companies, according to the same reports, have given the NSA a direct hookup to their huge databases of communications records. The NSA, using the same supercomputers that analyze foreign communications, sifts through this data for key words and phrases that could indicate communication to or from suspected terrorists or terrorist sympathizers and then tracks those individuals and their ever-widening circle of associates. "This is the US version of Echelon," says Albert Gidari, a prominent telecommunications attorney in Seattle, referring to a massive eavesdropping program run by the NSA and its English-speaking counterparts that created a huge controversy in Europe in the late 1990s.



So far, a handful of Democratic lawmakers—Representative John Conyers, the ranking Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee, and Senators Edward Kennedy and Russell Feingold—have attempted to obtain information from companies involved in the domestic surveillance program. But they've largely been rebuffed. Further details about the highly classified program are likely to emerge as the Electronic Frontier Foundation pursues a lawsuit, filed January 31, against AT&T for violating privacy laws by giving the NSA direct access to its telephone records database and Internet transaction logs. On February 16 a federal judge gave the Bush Administration until March 8 to turn over a list of internal documents related to two other lawsuits, filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Electronic Privacy Information Center, seeking an injunction to end the program.

Despite the President's rigorous defense of the program, no company has dared to admit its cooperation publicly. Their reticence is understandable: The Justice Department has launched a criminal investigation of the government officials who leaked the NSA story to the *Times*, and many constitutional scholars and a few lawmakers believe the program is both illegal and unconstitutional. And the companies may be embarrassed at being caught—particularly AT&T, which spent millions advertising its global services during the Winter Olympics. "It's a huge betrayal of the public trust, and they know it," says Bruce Schneier, the founder and chief technology officer of Counterpane Internet Security, a California consulting firm.

Corporations have been cooperating with the NSA for half a century. What's different now is that they appear to be helping the NSA deploy its awesome computing and data-mining powers inside the United States in direct contravention of US law, which specifically bans the agency from collecting information from US citizens living inside the United States. "They wouldn't touch US persons before unless they had a FISA warrant," says a former national security official who read NSA intercepts as part of his work for the State Department and the Pentagon.

This is happening at a time when both the military and its spy agencies are more dependent on the private sector than ever before, and an increasing number of companies are involved. In the 1970s, when Congress acted to stop domestic spying programs like Operation Shamrock, in which the NSA monitored overseas telegrams and

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Margaret Cho is a longstanding **Nation** *reader.*

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phone calls, the communications industry was in its infancy. "It was basically Western Union for cables, and AT&T for the telephone," says James Bamford, who revealed the existence of the NSA in his famous book *The Puzzle Palace* and is a plaintiff in the ACLU lawsuit. "It's much more complicated now." In fact, today's global telecom market includes dozens of companies that compete with AT&T, Sprint and MCI for telephone and mobile services, as well as scores of Internet service providers like Google, Yahoo! and AOL that offer e-mail, Internet and voice connections to customers around the world. They are served by multinational conglomerates like Apollo, Flag Atlantic and Global Crossing, which own and operate the global system of undersea fiber-optic cables that link the United States to the rest of the world. Any one of them could be among the companies contacted by intelligence officials when President Bush issued his 2002 executive order to obtain surveillance without FISA approval.

'The telcos have been participating in surveillance activities for decades...it's nothing new to them.' —Kenneth Bass, former Justice official

Nobody's talking, though. Asked if AT&T, which was recently acquired by SBC Communications, is cooperating with the NSA, AT&T spokesman Walt Sharp said, "We don't comment on national security matters." He referred me to a recent AT&T letter to Representative Conyers, which stated that AT&T "abides by all applicable laws, regulations and statutes in its operations and, in particular, with respect to requests for assistance from governmental authorities." MCI, which was acquired in January by Verizon, and Sprint, which recently merged with Nextel Communications, declined to comment. Attorney Gidari, who has represented Google, T-Mobile, Nextel and Cingular Wireless (now part of AT&T), does admit that "some companies, both telecom and Internet," were asked to participate in the NSA program. But he claims that only a limited number agreed. "The list of those who said no is much longer than most people think," he says.

The NSA, some analysts say, may have sought the assistance of US telecoms because most of the world's cable operators are controlled by foreign corporations. Apollo, for example, is owned by Britain's Cable & Wireless, while Flag Atlantic is owned by the Reliance Group of India. Much of the international "transit traffic" carried by the cable companies flows through the United States (this is particularly true of communications emanating from South America and moving between Asia and Europe). The NSA could get access to this traffic by sending a submarine team to splice the cables in international waters, as the agency once did to the Soviet Union's undersea military cables. But that is an extremely expensive proposition, and politically dicey to boot—which is where the US telecoms come in. "Cooperation with the telcos doesn't make NSA surveillance possible, but it does make it cheaper," says Schneier, the technology consultant.

According to Alan Mauldin, a senior research analyst with TeleGeography Research in Washington, DC, it would be possible for US intelligence operatives to gain access to transit traffic from anywhere in the country with the cooperation of a US company. "You could be inland, at an important city like New York or Washington, DC, where networks interconnect, and you could have the ability to tap into the whole network for not only that city but between that city and the rest of the world," he says. Foreign-owned cable operators, says Gidari, are also required by US law to maintain security offices manned by US citizens, with background checks and security clearances at the landing sites in Oregon, Florida, New Jersey and other states where fiber-optic cables come ashore.

The government has gone to great lengths to insure law-enforcement access to foreign-owned telecom companies. Take the example of Global Crossing, which owns several undersea cable systems and claims to serve more than 700 carriers, mobile operators and ISPs. Three years ago, as Global Crossing was emerging from one of the largest bankruptcies in US history, it was purchased by ST Telemedia, which is partly owned by the government of Singapore. As part of the US approval process (which occurred at a time when Global Crossing was being advised by Richard Perle, then-chairman of Donald Rumsfeld's Defense Policy Board), the company signed an unprecedented Network Security Agreement with the FBI and the Defense Department. Under the agreement, which is on file with the Federal Communications Commission, Global Crossing pledged that "all domestic communications" would pass through a facility "physically located in the United States, from which Electronic Surveillance can be conducted pursuant to lawful US process." (Global Crossing declined to comment.) Legal experts say the wording is significant in the context of the NSA spying flap, but cautioned not to read too much into it. "These agreements are not uncommon in the industry," says James Andrew Lewis, director of the Technology and Public Policy Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "They provide assurances that US interests won't suffer damage with foreign ownership."

History proves a good guide to how the NSA would go about winning cooperation from a telecom company. When telephone and telegraph companies began assisting the NSA during the 1940s, only one or two executives were in on the secret. That kind of arrangement continued into the 1970s, and is probably how cooperation with the NSA works today, says Kenneth Bass III, a Justice Department official during the Carter Administration. "Once the CEO approved, all the contacts [with the intelligence agencies] would be worked at a lower level," he says. "The telcos have been participating in surveillance activities for decades—pre-FISA, post-FISA—so it's nothing new to them." Bass, who helped craft the FISA law and worked with the NSA to implement it, adds that he "would not be surprised at all" if cooperating executives received from the Bush Administration "the same sort of briefing, but much more detailed and specific than the FISA court got when [the surveillance] was first approved."

Tim Shorrock (timshorrock@gmail.com), a longtime contributor to The Nation, *is writing a book for Simon & Schuster about corporate influence on US foreign policy.* *Research assistance was provided by the Investigative Fund of The Nation Institute.*

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For US intelligence officials looking for allies in the industry, AT&T, MCI and Sprint have a lot to offer. In 2002, when the spying program began, AT&T's CEO was C. Michael Armstrong, the former CEO of Hughes Electronic Corp. At the time, Armstrong was also chairman of the Business Roundtable's Security Task Force, where he was instrumental in creating CEO COM LINK, a secure telecommunications system that allows the chief executives of major US corporations to speak directly to senior members of Bush's Cabinet during national emergencies. Randall Stephenson, a former SBC Communications executive who is now AT&T's chief operating officer, is a member of the National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee, a group of executives from the communications and defense industries who advise the President on security issues related to telecom.

Those executives, all of whom hold security clearances, meet at the White House once a year—Vice President Cheney was the speaker at their last meeting—and hold quarterly conference calls with high-ranking officials. (Asked if the NSA surveillance was ever discussed at these sessions, committee spokesman Stephen Barrett said, "We do not participate in intelligence gathering.") AT&T also makes no bones about its national security work. When SBC was preparing to acquire the company last year, the two companies underscored their ties with US intelligence in joint comments to the FCC. "AT&T's support of the intelligence and defense communities includes the performance of various classified contracts," the companies said, pointing out that AT&T "maintains special secure facilities for the performance of classified work and the safeguarding of classified information."

'Arguing that this is legal is basically saying we're in a police state.'
—Bruce Schneier, technology consultant

MCI, too, is a major government contractor and was highly valued by Verizon in part because of its work in defense and intelligence. Nicholas Katzenbach, the former US Attorney General who was appointed chairman of MCI's board after the spectacular collapse of its previous owner, WorldCom, reiterated MCI's intelligence connections in a 2003 statement to the Senate Judiciary Committee. "We are especially proud," he wrote, "of our role in supporting our national-security agencies' infrastructure, and we are gratified by the many positive comments about our service from officials at the US Department of Defense and other national-security agencies." MCI's general counsel—who would presumably have a say in any decision to cooperate with the NSA—is William Barr. He is a former assistant general counsel at the Central Intelligence Agency and served as Attorney General during the Administration of President George H.W. Bush.

Sprint Nextel is top-loaded with executives with long experience in national security and defense. Chairman and CEO Gary Forsee is a member of Bush's telecom council (as is Lawrence Babbio, the vice chairman and president of Verizon). Keith Bane, a company director, recently retired from a twenty-nine-year career with Motorola, which has worked closely with US intelligence for decades. William Conway Jr. and former FCC chairman William Kennard are managing directors of the Carlyle Group, the Washington private equity fund that invests heavily in the military and has extensive contacts in the Bush Administration.

There's another group of companies, largely overlooked, that could also be cooperating with the NSA. These are firms clustered around the Beltway that contract with the agency to provide intelligence analysts, data-mining technologies and equipment used in the NSA's global signals-intelligence operations. The largest of them employ so many former intelligence officials that it's almost impossible to see where the government ends and the private sector begins. Booz Allen Hamilton, the prime contractor for Trailblazer, a huge NSA project updating its surveillance and eavesdropping infrastructure, employs several NSA alumni, including Mike McConnell, its vice president, who retired as NSA director in 1996. (Ralph Shrader, the company's CEO, joined Booz Allen in 1978 after serving in senior positions with Western Union and RCA, both of which cooperated with the NSA on Operation Shamrock.) SI International, a software and systems engineering company with NSA contracts, recently hired Harry Gatanas, the NSA's former director of acquisitions and outsourcing, to oversee its $250-million-a-year business with US intelligence and the Pentagon. Science Applications International Corporation, another big NSA contractor, is run by executives with long histories in military intelligence, including COO Duane Andrews, a former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence.

Are firms that cooperate with the NSA legally culpable? Bamford, who is not a lawyer but probably knows more about the NSA than any American outside government, says yes. "The FISA law is very clear," he says. "If you don't have a warrant, you're in violation, and the penalty is five years and you can be sued by the aggrieved parties." Kevin Bankston, an attorney for the Electronic Frontier Foundation, adds that US law "not only prohibits unauthorized wiretapping; it also prohibits unauthorized disclosure or use of illegally wiretapped information. As long as you were doing that, you're potentially liable." Schneier, the technology consultant, harbors no doubts either. "Arguing that this is legal is basically saying we're in a police state."

But Gidari, the Seattle telecom attorney, believes that companies would be insulated from legal challenges if they had assurances from the government that the program was within the law. He also says Congress has passed legislation granting immunity to companies operating under "statutory grants of authority" from the government. "It's not a slamdunk, but it is a good-faith defense," he says. Former Justice Department official Bass agrees but says reliance on oral requests from US officials is another matter: "If they didn't get the type of legal assurances the FISA provides for"—such as a written statement from the Attorney General—"there could be some legal exposure." But a full airing of the legal issues raised by the surveillance program may be a long time coming. "The likelihood of any enforcement absent a change in administration is zero," Bass says. ■

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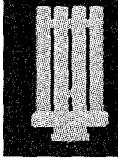

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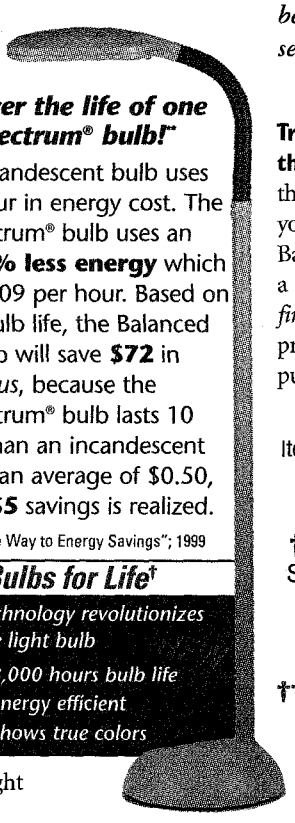

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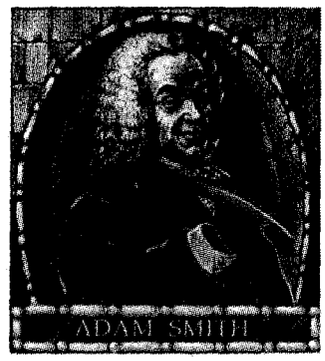
TO SEIZE THE POLITICAL MOMENT, DEMOCRATS NEED A BETTER NARRATIVE.

A Moral Economy

FRED BLOCK

The daily headlines suggest that a toxic combination of arrogance, corruption and incompetence is weakening the Republican Party's hold on national political power. As the Democrats struggle to capitalize on this opportunity, progressives should remember what happens when one side wins an election without defeating the opponent's main ideas.



STEVEN SALZBURG

Back in 1992 Bill Clinton campaigned successfully for President with promises to "put people first" and provide health insurance for all. But he quickly discovered that the ideas that had been dominant during the administrations of Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush were still hegemonic. Market Fundamentalism—a dogmatic belief in the power of Adam Smith's "invisible hand" to create prosperity—survived the Republicans' electoral defeat. Clinton was pressured to put aside many of his campaign promises to conform to this orthodoxy. And when he did defy Market Fundamentalism by pushing for universal health insurance, he suffered a catastrophic defeat.

Market Fundamentalism has ruled the country for close to twenty-five years. It has produced weak economic performance, corporate crime waves, government corruption and a coarsening of the culture. But the amazing thing is that efforts to hold the Market Fundamentalists accountable have gained so little traction. Perhaps the best explanation for this has been offered by former Labor Secretary Robert Reich. In "The Lost Art of Democratic Narrative," published by *The New Republic* in March 2005, Reich argues that differences over economic policy have been fought out in American politics over the past century by appropriating four specific story lines—the rot at the top, the mob at the gates, the triumphant individual and the benevolent community. The party that tells these stories most persuasively wins, he observes, and in recent years the prize has gone to the Republicans.

In the 1930s, in contrast, the Democrats were successful in telling people a story in which government action could overcome the rot caused by business greed while also protecting us from the overseas mobs following fascist (and later, communist) leaders. Moreover, government assistance would create a benevolent community that could respond, as FDR said, to the "third of a nation [that was] ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished." Within this community of care, hard work would be rewarded so that individuals could triumph and achieve upward mobility for their families.

According to Reich, the critical turning point came when the Republicans, starting with Reagan, hijacked these same stories and constructed a plot line in which the rot came from liberal elites, with the "Evil Empire" of the Soviets playing the role of the mob at the gates. Triumphant individuals had to be freed from government interference to restore the health of voluntary and faith-based communities. The Republicans have been telling versions of these same stories ever since, with George W. Bush endlessly promising to protect us from the terrorist mobs that have to be resisted overseas.

In both the New Deal and the Republican stories, however, there is a fifth narrative, providing a principle of order that integrates and organizes the four other elements. Starting in the 1930s, the Democrats employed a narrative in which an activist government overcomes the weaknesses of an unregulated market economy to achieve stability and renewed economic growth. This story would not ordinarily have been an easy sell, but the severity of the Depression made people receptive. Roosevelt and the Democrats seized the opportunity, and the narrative of an activist government reinforced by the New Deal's concrete successes gave credibility to Democratic stories about the rot, the mob and the triumphant individuals living in benevolent communities.

That powerful Democratic narrative dominated US politics for more than thirty years. But the combination of disillusionment over the Vietnam War, the stagflation of the 1970s and growing conflicts over gender, race and the environment began to undermine its effectiveness. As Republicans started to mobilize resentment against Democratic policies, Democratic politicians stopped telling the old stories.

This opened the way for the Republicans to invoke Adam Smith's mysterious mechanism of the "invisible hand" as the critical element that binds the other Republican stories together. Since the market can be relied on to coordinate all economic activity, the triumphant individual can be set free of government restrictions and liberal elites can be dismantled.

But it is not an option for progressives simply to recycle the stories and rhetoric of the New Deal. Years of conservative dominance have undermined any notion that government can actually serve the public good. Right-wingers pointed to the pathetic federal response to Hurricane Katrina as proof that government cannot protect us. Republican corruption and ineptitude, in short, has the partially intentional function of discrediting government in general. Reich's stories won't work without a new master narrative that explains how we could all prosper under a different policy regime.

It is useful to remember that Franklin Roosevelt developed and mobilized the language of activist government well before Keynes and others came up with an economic justification for it. Roosevelt made the initial break with Market Fundamentalism on his own, and it was only later that the Keynesian revolution in economics legitimized his path. Similarly, it was not the eco-

Fred Block teaches sociology at the University of California, Davis, and is a senior fellow with the Longview Institute.

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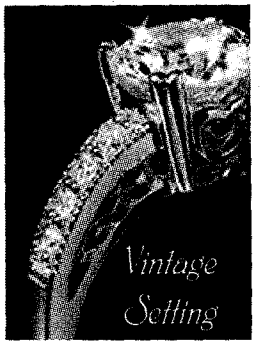

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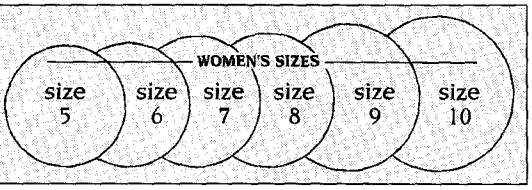

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nomic research of men like Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman that made the revival of Market Fundamentalism possible. It was the fact that their economic ideas could be easily expressed in familiar and simple moral terms. In both cases, the key to changing the dominant story has not been economic theory but the power of a moral language.

This suggests that we could make the phrase "moral economy" serve as the organizing narrative for a revival of progressive ideas. The term has a long and rich history, but it is also shorthand for the argument that sustainable prosperity must be built on strong moral foundations. This is something that Adam Smith, one of the patron saints of Market Fundamentalism, understood, but it is a lesson that his contemporary followers have completely forgotten. Smith recognized that the pursuit of self-interest can only serve the common good if individuals are systematically constrained by moral sentiments.

The essential idea was brilliantly expressed in the title of a 1980s bestseller, *All I Really Need to Know I Learned in Kindergarten*. The guiding principles of a moral economy are familiar rules such as don't hit, take turns, play by the rules, listen to the teacher, don't waste food and art supplies, and be prepared to share. These principles produce order in the elementary school classroom, and they can also assure order and prosperity in our nation's economy.

These kindergarten rules, in fact, translate directly into the four key principles that would be an integral part of a moral economy. "Don't hit" and "take turns" are about the principle of reciprocity; we need to behave toward others as we want them to act toward us. We should avoid force and coercion in our economic relations, including the quiet violence that occurs when we exploit someone's vulnerability or ignorance. Reciprocity is the foundation upon which trust is built, and high levels of trust are indispensable for economic prosperity.

"Play by the rules" and "listen to the teacher" express the principle of responsible competition. In the world of sports, competition pushes people to elevate their performance beyond all expectations. But the competition is so productive precisely because it is structured by rules and because the referees are on the field waving penalty flags. Economic competition is the same; it leads to elevated performance only with clear rules and when the regulators are able to call fouls and march off penalty yardage. And these rules must be continually updated to discourage unfair and injurious competitive strategies.

The injunction against waste is the principle of conservation of all resources, including human beings, nature and the built environment. Providing the maximal opportunity for each person to develop his or her capacities is the best way to avoid wasting our human resources. Conservation of both nature and constructed materials is central to the vision of a sustainable economy that no longer assumes that fossil fuels and minerals can be indefinitely wrested from the earth.

Finally, sharing exemplifies the principle of cooperation. Market ideology focuses only on competition, but a productive economy depends on cooperation. The most productive firms are those that create high levels of cooperation between employees and managers, and most large-scale economic efforts require complex webs of cooperation between different firms and public-sector agencies. An economy's capacity to generate and exploit innovations is a direct result of its ability to facilitate cooperation among these different actors.

These four principles—reciprocity, responsible competition, conservation and cooperation—interact and reinforce one another to enhance a moral economy's effectiveness. But Market Fundamentalists understand nothing of this. In fact, their policies have weakened our economy by deliberately ignoring and violating all these principles.

Envisioning a moral economy does not require any heroic assumptions about human nature; it does not assume that people are always cooperative and kind. On the contrary, it starts from the idea that the individual pursuit of self-interest has to be controlled or it will turn destructive. Market Fundamentalists are the utopians; they imagine that the market magically transforms everyone into angels who can be trusted to do the right thing. The moral-economy narrative recognizes that there is no "royal road," no magic formula, that will produce the desired combination of prosperity, order and justice. Rather, it is through the continuous exercise of democratic self-governance that we can reform our institutions to make both the economy and the government work better to achieve our shared objectives.

By establishing this vision of a moral economy, we can tell a unified story of how our fellow citizens can prosper. But it is important to avoid those old assumptions that government is always good and corporations are necessarily evil. Our government consistently fails to help people with day-to-day problems of healthcare, education and childcare, or finding work that pays a decent wage. Reforming government so that it works effectively for people is a critical part of building a moral economy.

At the same time, shared prosperity depends on "enterprise"—collective projects of innovation carried out with boldness and energy. Entrepreneurial activity can and should occur throughout society—in the public sector, in the nonprofit sector, in small business, in large corporations and in a wide variety of collaborations among these sectors. A moral economy would unleash this capacity for shared problem-solving in ways that fit with the four principles laid out earlier. So while we expose corporations that cheat their employees or the public, we should reward those that channel their efforts into innovations. A reformed corporate sector is a critical building block of a moral economy.

With the construction of a moral economy as the frame, Reich's other stories fall into place. The "rot at the top" has never smelled so putrid; the decay comes from the obscenely wealthy who have abandoned real enterprise for paper manipulations that generate outlandish returns. The "mob at the gates" continues to be those committed to jihad against the West. But the Bush Administration's response to this threat has been completely self-defeating. We need, instead, greater international cooperation to combat terrorism and concerted efforts to build a moral economy at the global level. Creating a world in which children born in the slums of Cairo, Islamabad and Lagos have real opportunities for meaningful employment and political participation is the only way to isolate the jihadists.

The triumphant individuals in this narrative are people of different ethnicities, immigrants and native born, both women

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and men, gay and straight, rural, suburban and urban, for whom the doors of opportunity would be reopened by the project of building a moral economy. With such an economy, our nation would become a "benevolent community" in which each individual is able to reach his or her full potential.

To be sure, stories are not enough. We also need bold policy ideas that would implement the principles of a moral economy. But the stories have to come first, and those stories must connect us to our nation's richest traditions. The great popular movements of our nation's history—against the slave trade, for the abolition of slavery, for women's suffrage, for trade union rights, for restraints on the power of big business in the Progressive Era, and extending to the civil rights movement, the New Left and the environmental movement—can all be understood as efforts to align our economic and political institutions with our deepest moral commitments. We will be honoring their legacy when we present a vision of a moral economy as an alternative to the failed claims of Market Fundamentalism. ■

EXCHANGE

CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

assassination of President Kennedy, with the assistance of the ACLU, I won a precedent-setting lawsuit in the US District Court in Washington, DC, brought pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act. The court ordered the police and spy organizations to provide to me many long-suppressed documents.

The CIA document stated that it was deeply troubled by my work in questioning the conclusions of the Warren Commission. The CIA had concluded that my book *Rush to Judgment* was difficult to answer; indeed, after a careful and thorough analysis of that work by CIA experts, the CIA was unable to find and cite a single error in the book. The CIA complained that almost half of the American people agreed with me and that "Doubtless polls abroad would show similar, or possibly more adverse, results." This "trend of opinion," the CIA stated, "is a matter of concern" to "our organization." Therefore, the CIA concluded, steps must be taken.

The CIA directed that methods of attacking me should be discussed with "liaison and friendly elite contacts (especially politicians and editors)," instructing them that "further speculative discussion only plays into the hands of the opposition." The CIA stressed that their assets in the media should "point out also that parts of the conspiracy talk appear to be deliberately generated by Communist propagandists." Further, their media contacts should "use their influence to discourage" what the CIA referred to as "unfounded and irresponsible speculation." *Rush to Judgment*, then the *New York Times* number-one bestselling book, contained no speculation.

The CIA in its report instructed book reviewers and magazines that contained feature articles how to deal with me and others who raised doubts about the validity of the Warren Report. Magazines should, the CIA stated, "employ propaganda assets to answer and refute the attacks of the critics," adding that "feature articles are particularly appropriate for this purpose." The CIA instructed its media assets that "because of the standing of the members of the Warren Commission, efforts to impugn their rectitude and wisdom tend to cast doubt on the whole leadership of American society." The CIA was referring to such distinguished gentlemen as Allen Dulles, the former director of the CIA; President Kennedy had fired Dulles from that position for having lied to him about the Bay of Pigs tragedy. Dulles was then appointed by Lyndon Johnson to the Warren Commission to tell the American people the truth about the assassination.

The purpose of the CIA was not in doubt. The CIA stated: "The aim of this dispatch is to provide material for countering and discrediting the claims" of those who doubted the Warren Report. The CIA stated that "background information" about me and others "is supplied in a classified section and in a number of unclassified attachments."

With this background we now turn to Max Holland's *Nation* article, which states that there was a "JFK Lawyers' Conspiracy" among four lawyers: former Senator Gary Hart; Professor Robert Blakey; Jim Garrison, the former District Attorney of New Orleans and later a state judge in Louisiana; and me.

Before I wrote *Rush to Judgment* I had never met any of the other three "co-conspirators." I still have not had the pleasure of meeting Senator Hart, and I know of no work that he has done in this area. I met Professor Blakey only once; he had been appointed chief counsel for the House Select Committee on Assassinations, and at that meeting I told him that I was disappointed in his approach and methods. Not much of a lawyers' conspiracy.

Each of the other statements as to alleged fact are false and defamatory. Holland states that I am not scrupulous, that I am dishonest and that I spread innuendo about the sinister delay in the Warren Commission investigation, an assertion not made by me but fabricated in its entirety by Holland. As a silent echo of his CIA associates Holland does not point to one assertion as to fact, of the thousands I have made about the facts surrounding the death of our President, that he claims is inaccurate.

Finally, Holland strikes pay dirt. He uncovers, are you ready for this, the fact that I had asserted that "the government was indifferent to the truth." I confess. Is that now a crime under the Patriot Act? Isn't that what *The Nation* is supposed to be asserting and proving?

Holland states that the KGB was secretly funding my work with a payment of "$12,500 (in 2005 dollars)." It was a secret all right. It never happened. Holland's statement is an outright lie. Neither the KGB nor any person or organization associated with it ever made any contribution to my work. No one ever made a sizable contribution, with the exception of Corliss Lamont, who contributed enough for me to fly one time from New York to Dallas to interview eyewitnesses. The second-largest contribution was $50 given to me by Woody Allen. Have Corliss and Woody now joined Holland's fanciful conspiracy?

Funds for the work of the Citizens Committee of Inquiry were raised by me. I lectured each night for more than a year in a Manhattan theater. The *Times* referred to the very well attended talks as one of the longest-running performances off Broadway. That was not a secret. I am surprised that Holland never came across that information, especially since he refers to what he calls "The Speech" in his diatribe.

Apparently, Holland did not fabricate the KGB story; his associates at the CIA did. There is proof for that assertion, but I fear that I have taken too much space already. For that information, contact me at mlane777@cs.com.

Am I being unfair when I suggest a connection between Holland and the CIA? Here is the CIA game plan: Fabricate a disinformation story. Hand it to a reporter with liberal credentials; for example, a *Nation* contributing editor. If the reporter cannot find a publication then have the CIA carry it on its own website under the byline of the reporter. Then the CIA can quote the reporter and state, " according to..."

Holland writes regularly for the official CIA website. He publishes information there that he has been given by the CIA. The CIA, on its official website, then states, "According to Holland..." If you would like to look into this matter of disinformation laundering, enter into your computer "CIA.gov + Max Holland." You will find on the first page alone numerous articles by Holland supporting and defending the CIA and attacking those who dare to disagree, as well as CIA statements attributing the information to Holland.

A question for *The Nation*. When Holland writes an article for you defending the CIA and attacking its critics, why do you describe him only as "a *Nation* contributing editor" and author? Is it not relevant to inform your readers that he also is a contributor to the official CIA website and then is quoted by the CIA regarding

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information that the agency gave him?

An old associate of mine, Adlai Stevenson, once stated to his political opponent, a man known as a stranger to the truth—if you stop telling lies about me I will stop telling the truth about you. I was prepared to adopt that attitude here. But I cannot. Your publication has defamed a good friend, Jim Garrison, after he died and could not defend himself against demonstrably false charges.

You have not served your readers by refusing to disclose Holland's CIA association. *The Nation* and Holland have engaged in the type of attack journalism that recalls the bad old days. If I fought McCarthyism in the 1950s as a young lawyer, how can I avoid it now when it appears in a magazine that has sullied its own history? The article is filled with ad hominem attacks, name calling and fabrications, and it has done much mischief. I will hold you and Holland accountable for your misconduct. I can honorably adopt no other course.

To mitigate damages I require that you repudiate the article and apologize for publishing it. That you publish this letter as an unedited article in your next issue. That you do not publish a reply by Holland in which he adds to the defamation and the damage he has done, a method you have employed in the past. That you provide to me the mailing addresses of your contributing editors and members of your editorial board so that I may send this letter to them. I am confident that Gore Vidal and Bob Borosage, Tom Hayden and Marcus Raskin, all of whom I know, and many others such as Molly Ivins, John Leonard and Lani Guinier, who I do not know but who I respect and admire, would be interested in the practices of *The Nation*. In addition, I suggest that ethical journalism requires that in the future you fully identify your writers so that your readers may make an informed judgment about their potential bias.

If you have a genuine interest in the facts regarding the assassination you should know that the House Select Committee on Assassinations (the United States Congress) concluded that probably a conspiracy was responsible for the murder and that, therefore, the Warren Report that Holland defends so aggressively is probably wrong. In addition, the only jury to consider this question decided in a trial held in the US District Court in a defamation case that the newspaper did not defame E. Howard Hunt when it suggested that Hunt and the CIA had killed the President. The forewoman of the jury stated that the evidence proved that the CIA had been responsible for the assassination.

I have earned many friends in this long effort. Those who have supported my work include Lord Bertrand Russell, Arnold Toynbee, Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper, Dr. Linus Pauling, Senator Richard Schweicker, Paul McCartney, Norman Mailer, Richard Sprague, Robert Tannenbaum and also members of the House of Representatives, including Don Edwards, Henry Gonzales, Andrew Young, Bella Abzug, Richardson Preyer, Christopher Dodd, Herman Badillo, Mervyn Dymally, Mario Biaggi and, above all, according to every national poll, the overwhelming majority of the American people. I have apparently earned a few adversaries along the way. Too bad that they operate from the shadows; that tends to remove the possibility of an open debate. MARK LANE

Washington, DC

■ While many thought the 1979 report of the House Select Committee on Assassinations was the final word on President Kennedy's murder, it wasn't. In 1992 Congress passed the JFK Act. As a result, a huge volume of new materials are available for study.

One significant revelation is the extent to which the CIA was a focus of the committee's probe. Another is the discovery by Jefferson Morley, a columnist for WashingtonPost.com, that the CIA corrupted the committee's probe. The CIA brought former case officer George Joannides out of retirement to handle the committee's inquiries about the relationship between Lee Harvey Oswald and DRE, a CIA-funded Cuban exile organization. The CIA never told the committee that Joannides was DRE's case officer when Oswald and DRE were in contact. Joannides then thwarted committee efforts to obtain CIA records about the DRE-Oswald relationship. Thus, the last official word on the assassination is that of a Congressional committee that was subverted by an agency that itself was a focus of the investigation.

These facts raise serious issues. The CIA's conduct undermined democratic accountability and compromised the integrity of Congressional oversight on a matter of national security. Shouldn't Congress now investigate to determine why the CIA sabotaged the probe? Was it because, as some former committee staffers have said, an element of the CIA was involved in the plot? Or is there some other explanation?

In 2004 and 2005 the Assassination Archives and Research Center (AARC) held conferences to discuss the JFK assassination. On the issue of conspiracy, two scientists from Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory discredited the last remaining basis for the single bullet theory (SBT), which theorized that both Kennedy and John Connally were hit by the same bullet, fired from Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano rifle—the sine qua non for the lone assassin theory. These eminent scientists said that due to scientific advances not only can the SBT not be substantiated but the fragments tested could have come from one—or as many as five—bullets, including a Remington or some other rifle. Holland mentions none of this.

Holland denounces the acoustics evidence proving there was a conspiracy. He misrepresents acoustics as being the only evidence the committee had of a conspiracy and mistakenly says that it is uncorroborated. In fact, the first acoustics panel was corroborated by the second. Both were further corroborated and strengthened by Donald Thomas's study. Holland doesn't mention Thomas, but does obliquely refer to the work of Richard Garwin. Thomas debated Garwin at the AARC conference. But as Pulitzer Prize–winning reporter George Lardner reported, Thomas "upstaged" Garwin, showing "how the noises coincided precisely with frames from the Zapruder film and echoes off buildings in Dealey Plaza reflecting the gunfire." Lardner also noted that Garwin said he "had not studied the echoes." Again, none of this is in Holland's account.

Holland, winner of a CIA award for *Studies in Intelligence*, has been working on a book since 1993 defending the Warren Commission. In applying for an Anthony Lukas work-in-progress award in 2001, he said that as a result of his study "the Commission can emerge in a new light: battered somewhat but with its probity and the accuracy of its findings intact." He also stressed that he had spent a full year researching "the remarkable effort of KGB disinformation on Garrison's probe." Holland debated this thesis with Gary Aguilar at the 2004 AARC conference. In my view, Holland lost hands down (a DVD of the conference is available through aarclibrary.org). In advancing his thesis, Holland relies on dubious materials, including the word of former CIA director Richard Helms, who was charged with perjury but copped a plea of withholding information from Congress.

Holland now uses the AARC's 2005 conference to theorize that a vast conspiracy of lawyers "less scrupulous" than those at the Warren Commission spread KGB disinformation and convinced Congress and the American people that the Warren Report was wrong. This is a McCarthyite tactic for discrediting the AARC conferences and Warren Commission critics generally. It seems no one ever saw the Zapruder film showing JFK thrown violently to the left rear, no one ever looked at the Magic Bullet and concluded it was so undeformed it could not have done all the damage alleged. No, it was them bloody KGB disinformation lawyers that brainwashed them.

In 1967 the CIA directed its stations to tamp growing criticism of the Warren Report by discussing it with "liaison and friendly elite contacts (especially politicians and editors)" and "point out that parts of the conspiracy talk appear to be deliberately generated by Communist propagandists." The dispatch further instructs that stations "employ propaganda assets to answer and refute the attacks of the critics," saying that "book reviews and feature articles are particularly appropriate for this purpose."

Holland's piece on our conference looks as if it were written to specification. While I had not expected favorable coverage from Holland when I overrode the advice of friends and associates and honored *The Nation*'s request that he be given journalistic privileges and courtesies, I hadn't expected an attack of this character. The general opinion of attendees, repeatedly expressed to me personally, was that the 2005 conference was the best ever on the subject. Max Holland echoed this in an e-mail to me: "Having Garwin, Hart and Blakey give presentations made the conference superior to any I've attended. I'll do my best to get an article in." JIM LESAR, *president, AARC*

Vallejo, Calif.

■ Max Holland has engaged for years in propagating disinformation on behalf of the CIA concerning the investigation of its role in the

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official execution of John F. Kennedy. Holland's *Nation* article expatiates upon his fabricated thesis that Jim Garrison's evidence of the CIA's role in the Kennedy murder derived from a series of articles in *Paese Sera* in 1967.

I sent those articles to Jim Garrison in my capacity as director of the Who Killed Kennedy? committee in London, whose members and supporters included Bertrand Russell, Hugh Trevor-Roper, Arnold Toynbee, Field Marshall Sir Claude Auchinleck and Lord Boyd Orr. The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, of which I was then executive director, had conducted an extended investigation of the role of the CIA in fomenting and coordinating brutal repression, disappearances and assassinations, which culminated in a military putsch in Greece. Our Save Greece Now Committee unearthed concrete data regarding the role of the CIA and the Greek colonels that helped mobilize the movement for which Deputy Grigoris Lambrakis paid with his life. In the aftermath, our committee and its Greek leader, Michael Peristerakis, led a demonstration of more than 1 million that brought down the regime.

CIA activity across Europe led *Paese Sera* to undertake a six-month investigation into the role in Italy of the CIA, with its plans for a military coup. The CIA colonels' coup in Greece unfolded shortly after *Paese Sera*'s prescient series. Prominent writers and intellectuals, including Rossana Rossanda, K.S. Karol, Lelio Basso, Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, supported *Paese Sera*.

This investigation was entirely unrelated to events in the United States or the assassination of John F. Kennedy. It was fortuitous that the CIA front organizations in Italy that emerged from CIA plans to overthrow the Italian government included Centro Mondiale Commerciale and Permindex, of which Clay Shaw was a director in New Orleans.

Jim Garrison was well on the trail of Shaw and his role as a CIA handler of Lee Harvey Oswald before *Paese Sera* published its series of articles. When I sent them to Garrison, he had already charged Shaw in relation to the murder of Kennedy. Jim found the *Paese Sera* series confirmatory and important, but the articles were not admissible as evidence in court.

Holland has written repeatedly that *Paese Sera* was a "communist" paper and a conduit for KGB disinformation. In fact, *Paese Sera* was not unlike *The Nation* before Holland's infiltration of it as a contributing editor (except *Paese Sera* was less inclined to defend the leaders of the Soviet Union than was *The Nation* during the decades since the 1930s). The *Paese Sera* fiction is real intelligence disinformation arising not from the KGB but from an April 7, 1967, directive by Helms to CIA media assets, "How To Respond to Critics of the Warren Report."

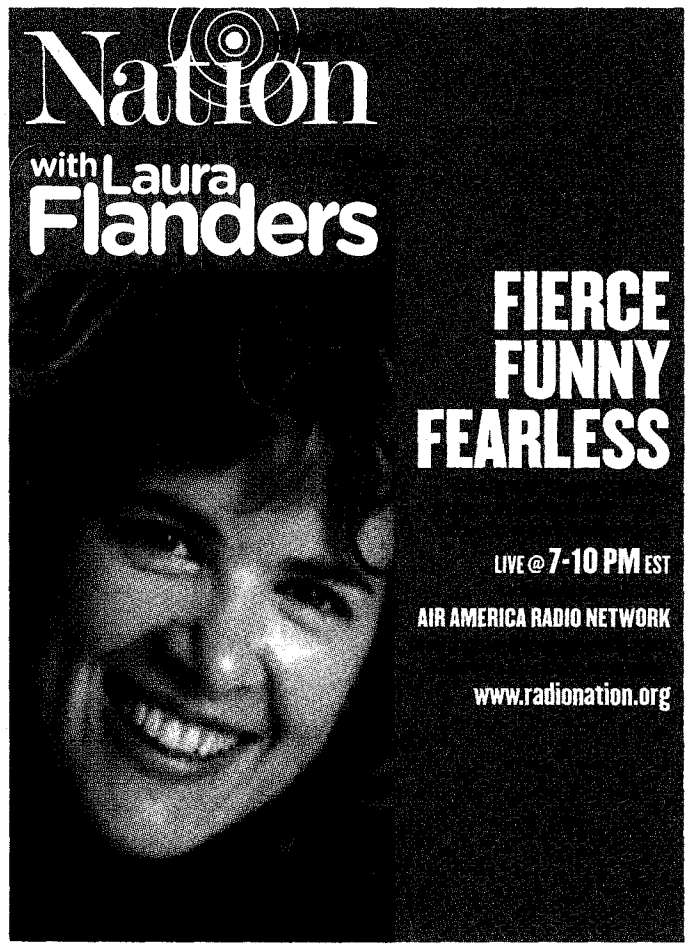
What emerged from the investigative work of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and *Paese Sera* was the full evidence of the forty-year campaign of the CIA in Italy, now known as Operation Gladio, a campaign of terror that included the kidnapping and murder of Prime Minister Aldo Moro and the bombing of the Bologna railway station.

I worked with Jim Garrison for twenty years and sent him many documents, e.g., Secret Service Report 767, which cites the disclosure by Alan Sweat, chief of the criminal division of the Dallas Sheriff's Office, of Lee Harvey Oswald's FBI Informant Number S172 and Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade's citation of Oswald's CIA number 110669.

Finally, Philip Zelikow, national security adviser to both Bush administrations and appointed by George W. Bush to his Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board immediately after the 9/11 attacks, has endorsed Holland's specious charges in *Foreign Affairs*, even as he and Holland were colleagues at the Miller Institute. Zelikow, as head of the 9/11 Commission, has been a point man in covering up the role of US intelligence in the planning and implementation of the events of September 11.

It is fitting that the very individuals who protect the treason at the top that defines the official assassination of President Kennedy are performing that role in relation to the events of 9/11—a precise correlative to Operation Gladio, first exposed by the investigative work of *Paese Sera,* which linked the CIA murder apparatus in Italy to the one that murdered the head of state in America.

Holland seeks to present the investigators into official murder in America not as people of principle and daring but as disinformation tools of an intelligence service. When it comes to being a pimp for the imperium, Mr. Holland, Physician, heal thyself! RALPH SCHOENMAN



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Kirtland, NM

■ I commend *The Nation* for publishing Max Holland's insightful article. In 1963 I worked in New Orleans as a cameraman for WDSU TV, and I met and talked with Lee Harvey Oswald on three occasions. I also knew Jim Garrison, and I knew the Cuban refugee Carlos Bringuier, who scuffled with Oswald on Canal Street on August 9, 1963. Three days later I photographed Oswald and Bringuier coming out of court after their "disturbing the peace" trial, and on August 16, I photographed Oswald handing out pro-Castro leaflets in front of the International Trade Mart on Camp Street.

In 1968 Garrison phoned me in San Francisco, where I was living, and asked if I would sell him a copy of my Oswald Trade Mart footage. I told him I'd gladly *give* him a copy. Then he went on to tell me a wild story about how the FBI was keeping WDSU and NBC News from providing him with a copy of the film because the bureau had had secret spies or agents with Oswald at the Trade Mart, directing his activities as part of a government "conspiracy." Garrison said the Feds didn't want him to see my film, since he might identify the government spooks with Oswald.

I was so shocked by that story that a day or so later I called a supervisor at the San Francisco FBI office and asked if he would call an appropriate person at the Washington headquarters to see if they would not want me to release the film to Garrison. I indicated that I might not release it if it involved "national security." My objective was twofold: to find out if Garrison was wrong about the FBI trying to cover up my film, and to find out if he was right. If he was right, that was indeed a big story. But the supervisor called me back a day or two later and said that the guys in Washington didn't care whether or not I gave Garrison the film. So I sent it to him, and after several months of studying it, the net result was that neither Garrison nor any of his investigators was able to turn up any FBI or other spooks with Oswald in the footage.

I worked and talked with Garrison many times when I was a news cameraman, and I always thought of him as an intelligent and sensible man. But after he began working on the JFK case and trying to invent bizarre government conspiracies about it, I came to realize the guy was going a bit bonkers and was apparently in the process of having a long, slow nervous breakdown.

Thirty-seven years after his phone call to me, a retired history professor found in some archives a copy of an FBI memo about my 1968 telephone call to the San Francisco FBI supervisor, and the professor fraudulently referred to it in his JFK conspiracy book as "documentation" that I had worked as an "FBI informant" in New Orleans in 1963!

Of course I had not, and the memo does not suggest in any way that I did. The professor's story was simply fabricated, like hundreds of other phony JFK "conspiracy" stories. I was a young liberal/leftist in 1963, and I didn't have any feelings of ill will toward Oswald at that time, nor did I have any contacts in the FBI. I thought Oswald was a little goofy and something of a crackpot to be handing out pro-Castro leaflets in a conservative Southern city just ten months after the Cuban missile crisis. But I learned in the news business long ago that crackpots do what crackpots think they need to do to modify the world in some way, and Oswald did what he thought he needed to do.

As I have carefully studied the JFK case myself, I've come to the conclusion that Oswald did act alone, and that President Kennedy might still be alive today if he had never made that trip to Dallas, or if Oswald had still lived in New Orleans on November 22, 1963. But the chance event of President Kennedy riding in an open limousine slowly down a street right in front of a building where a crackpot worked, especially a crackpot who owned a rifle with a telescopic sight, was just too much of an opportunity for the crackpot to pass up.

I've also come to realize that so many of these stupid, inaccurate and idiotic "conspiracy" stories are a waste of time and a distortion of history. Every minute wasted on pursuing a 1963 "conspiracy" while ignoring current important ongoing conspiracies is a minute lost.

And the conspiracy buffs who condemn honest, hard-working journalists like Holland remind me of the old 1950s film clips of Senator Joe McCarthy. I would hate to think that truth in historical reporting might be adversely influenced today by the use of such McCarthyite tactics against journalists like Holland who stick their necks out to report the truth about the JFK case and Jim Garrison's ridiculous investigation of it.

J.W. Rush

HOLLAND REPLIES

Washington, DC

■ Apparently, a word needs to be said about the article I wrote for *Studies in Intelligence*, a journal published by the CIA. The first iteration of this story, which exposed the impact of Soviet disinformation on Jim Garrison's persecution of Clay Shaw, actually appeared in the Spring 2001 *Wilson Quarterly*. However, the *Quarterly*, like *The Nation*, does not run footnoted articles, and I wanted a fully documented version to appear, since I had conducted extensive interviews and research in Italy, and into CIA documents at the National Archives. There are only four English-language journals that print scholarly articles on intelligence (and if one is so inclined, it is a snap to "prove" they are all CIA-connected). *Studies* is the oldest, and I went there first. That's the whole story, except that, yes, the article (available online) then also won an award.

Now to some brass tacks in the space I have available. Both Joan Mellen and Mark Lane make much of a CIA document that sounds very sinister—until you actually read it and put it into context. The document was written in April 1967, the height of the bout of madness otherwise known as the Garrison investigation. As one of the government agencies now being accused of complicity in the assassination, the CIA was very concerned about having such allegations gain widespread acceptance abroad in the midst of the cold war. "Innuendo of such seriousness affects...the whole reputation of the American government," observed the CIA. So the agency launched a campaign, using its media assets abroad, to counter criticism of the Warren Report by the likes of Mellen, Lane and others. Is that really shocking?

Joan Mellen's penchant for accuracy can be summed up in the fact that she cannot even bother to spell correctly (here or in her book) the names of Gianfranco Corsini and Edo Parpaglioni. Ordinarily, this would be nit-picking, but in this instance her elementary sloppiness is as good a window as any into the miasma of bald lies, misrepresentations and truthiness that she calls a book.

The claim that *Paese Sera*'s lies about Shaw were the fortuitous result of a "six-month investigation" is a belated fiction embraced by Mellen and other Garrison acolytes. The coauthor of the articles in question, Angelo Aver, claimed no such thing when interviewed in 2000, nor did any *Paese Sera* editors I contacted (including Corsini).

I find it illuminating that Lane has taken no legal action (not even in Britain!) against the authors (Christopher Andrew and KGB archivist-turned-defector Vasili Mitrokhin) and publishers of the 1999 volume that revealed "the [KGB's] New York residency sent [Lane initially] 1,500 dollars to help finance his research" through an intermediary. That doesn't necessarily mean it came in a lump sum. And neither Andrew/Mitrokhin nor I alleges that Lane was a witting recipient, just a useful one.

All the reliable forensic and scientific evidence developed around the JFK case either positively supports or does not negate the findings of the Warren Report. An explanation of the so-called acoustic evidence can be found at http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/odell/.

Jim Lesar has often attempted to impede *The Nation*'s coverage of AARC conferences when I have been designated to cover them. On this go-round he hinted (before backing off) that a press credential would not be forthcoming unless *The Nation* guaranteed there would be an article. After the conference, impressed as I was by AARC's ability to attract the likes of Dr. Richard Garwin, former Senator Hart and Professor Blakey, I wanted to assure Lesar that I would do my best to submit an article that the editors would deem worthwhile, even though it's harder than ever to get into the magazine when writing about a largely historical subject. That didn't mean, however, that I had checked my brains at the door.

Max Holland

CORRECTION

■ An editing error in Gary Younge's "Beneath the Radar" column in the last issue caused "collective-action lawsuit" to be rendered as "class-action lawsuit." In the former, plaintiffs must opt in to the suit to be included; in the latter, all are included unless they opt out.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Exile and the Kingdom

LAILA LALAMI

THE LAST FRIEND.
By Tahar Ben Jelloun.
New Press. 186 pp. $21.95.

In 1966 the Moroccan intellectual Abdellatif Laabi launched a cultural revolution in the form of a magazine. A bilingual quarterly, *Souffles* (Breaths) featured the work of leading figures of the North African literary and political avant-garde, such as novelist Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine, poet Mostafa Nissaboury and leftist activist Abraham Serfaty. Before long, it became the principal reference for a homegrown progressive movement. In his role as editor, Laabi was the first to publish many of the region's young writers. Among these was a 24-year-old poet and philosophy professor named Tahar Ben Jelloun, who made a stirring debut in the magazine in 1968 with "L'Aube des dalles" (The Dawn of Stones). In this haunting meditation on repression, Ben Jelloun courageously evoked the need to remember victims of disappearance and torture: "And this man, this man who never returned/a body/that was dissolved in sulfuric acid/a body/that was sunk in quicklime/what will/the wind tell erosion/what will/the sword tell the torn neck/when/it will be necessary to remember this man." Because of poems like "L'Aube des dalles," which directly addressed the deteriorating political situation, the Moroccan government banned *Souffles* in 1971.

Since then, Ben Jelloun has published fourteen novels, two story collections, four collections of poetry, two works of nonfiction, three memoirs, three children's books and a play. The primary characters in his writings are often women, immigrants or prostitutes—the voiceless in Moroccan society. He has translated into French Mohamed Choukri's influential and periodically censored novel, *Al-Khubz Al-Hafi* (For Bread Alone), which provides a frank and graphic portrayal of poverty and childhood prostitution in 1940s Tangier. Ben Jelloun's own work has been translated into more than forty languages. He contributes political and social commentary to *Le Monde* and *La Vanguardia*, and is regularly called upon to appear as a guest on television talk shows in Morocco and Europe. He has won the Prix Maghreb, the Prix Goncourt and, more recently, the International IMPAC Dublin Award, one of the world's most prestigious literary prizes. In the past few years, he has been mentioned as a candidate for the Nobel Prize in Literature.

And yet, with the exception of academic circles that specialize in Francophone North African literature, Ben Jelloun remains virtually unknown in America. Some in the media have referred to him as "Mr. Jelloun," mistaking the particle in his last name for a middle name. Even with his international reputation and the prestige of his prizes, his work continues to appear largely thanks to the efforts of nonprofit or university presses. His latest novel, the daring and introspective *The Last Friend*, should bring him the wide readership that has eluded him in this country.

Ben Jelloun tells the story of a generation of Moroccan writers who paid a heavy price for speaking out against the monarchy.

Tahar Ben Jelloun was born in Fez in 1944, to a shopkeeper father and a homemaker mother. When he was 11, his family moved to Tangier, where the young Ben Jelloun finished his secondary education. (The two cities would later serve as the setting of nearly all his novels.) After graduating from college, Ben Jelloun taught philosophy in Tetuán and Casablanca until 1971, when the Ministry of Education announced that the philosophy curriculum, still taught in French despite Morocco's accession to independence in

Laila Lalami, the author of Hope and Other Dangerous Pursuits, *a novel, is the editor of Moorishgirl.com, a blog about books and culture.*

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1956, would henceforth be Arabicized. This decision was not due to nationalistic fervor; rather, the government believed it was a good way to prevent the study of texts it considered "subversive." Despite his fluency in Moroccan Arabic, Ben Jelloun lacked the training necessary to teach in classical Arabic, so he left Morocco to pursue doctoral studies in social psychiatry in Paris. He continues to live there.

The Last Friend begins in the schoolyard of a French *lycée* in Tangier in 1960. Fifteen-year-old Ali has just arrived with his family from Fez. After school one day, a few bullies attack him, calling him "a Jew," because he is light-skinned and his family name begins with "Ben." (The particle is, in fact, common among both North African Jews and Fez Muslims.) Ali, who narrates the incident, tells us that a boy named Mohammed—Mamed, for short—rushes to his defense. The two become fast friends, although they have different sensibilities. Mamed, the son of a wealthy couple, embraces the nationalist struggle, reads Fanon, Marx and Lenin, and longs for the establishment of social justice in a newly independent Morocco. Ali is also fiercely opposed to colonialism, but he prefers to spend his time reading poetry or watching movies rather than poring over radical manifestoes. In time, Mamed leaves for France to study medicine, while Ali goes to Quebec to study film.

When they return home for the summer holidays in 1966, they are unexpectedly arrested and taken to disciplinary camps in El Hajeb and later Ahermemou, as punishment for their leftist views. Never tried or even charged with a crime, they are jailed for eighteen months and fourteen days. After their release, the two young men enroll in university in Rabat, Mamed in medicine and Ali in history. They move back north upon graduation and get married, Ali to the beautiful and somewhat fickle Soraya, Mamed to the quiet and thoughtful Ghita. Both of their wives take umbrage at the friends' closeness. Ali remembers that Soraya "didn't understand why I missed Mamed so much," making "occasional jealous scenes," and that Ghita could become "hysterical to the point of violence." But this doesn't appear to affect the two men. Even after Mamed leaves Morocco for Sweden to take up a job at the World Health Organization, he and Ali continue to correspond regularly. Mamed asks Ali to help him furnish an apartment he purchased in Tangier, trusting his best friend to make the right decisions. One day, however, Ali is shocked to receive a letter from Mamed telling him that their friendship is over, and accusing him of betrayal over finances relating to the apartment deal.

At this point the narrative thread breaks, and Mamed speaks, giving us his version of the events, going back all the way to the schoolyard encounter. Interestingly, Mamed doesn't mention the bullies or the use of "Jew" as an insult. Instead, he talks about Ali's passion for books, and how they become fellow travelers in their quest to lose their virginity. The difference in the retelling raises questions about the reliability of memory, a point made again and again in this short novel. Mamed gives substantially more details about the disciplinary camp in El Hajeb. He tells us, for instance, that the prisoners' daily task was to carry rocks from one end of the camp to the other, in order to build a wall, which other detainees would immediately destroy—a Sisyphean task that was designed to teach all of them a lesson. Mamed supplies a name to go along with the camp commander's face: Commander Tadla. We also learn that Tadla served in the French army in Indochina and that he is fiercely loyal to General Oufkir, the man who would lead a coup against King Hassan in 1971.

When Ben Jelloun published his novel on the notorious Tazmamart prison, he was accused of exploiting the memories of its survivors.

Parallels between the novel and Ben Jelloun's life abound. Like his characters, Ben Jelloun studied at a French high school in Tangier. Like them, he was arrested in 1966 on suspicion that he had taken part in student demonstrations (a charge that was true in his case). Like them, he was sent to El Hajeb and Ahermemou. But although he has written fiction about everything from gender identity (*The Sand Child*, *The Sacred Night*) to bribery (*Corruption*), he has never written directly about this episode in his life until now. The reasons for this change may lie in the controversy surrounding the publication of his previous novel, *This Blinding Absence of Light*, which is loosely based on the experiences of Aziz Binebine, a junior officer who happened to be at the wrong place at the wrong time. In 1971 Lieut. Col. Mohamed Ababou led an entire corps of cadets from the Military Academy of Ahermemou to the beach city of Skhirat, where, he told them, they would take part in military exercises. Little did they know that they were being called upon by General Oufkir to seize the royal palace, where King Hassan was celebrating his 42nd birthday in a lavish garden party. The coup failed, and the king threw fifty-eight of the student officers into the infamous jail at Tazmamart, where cells were so cramped that prisoners, held in solitary confinement, could not stand up. They remained there, in complete darkness, for eighteen years.

Many survivors, among them Ahmed Marzouki, whose own memoir, *Tazmamart: Cellule 10*, became a bestseller in Morocco in 2001, complained that Ben Jelloun should have written a book or spoken up on their behalf when they were still in prison, rather than after their release. Marzouki was quoted in *Le Monde* as saying Ben Jelloun "has always been silent. Why does he speak up today? Tazmamart is an ocean of misery and darkness. Not everyone can talk about it and profit from it." Even Aziz Binebine claimed that Ben Jelloun had "harassed" him to get permission to use his life story. Adding insult to injury, Ben Jelloun had used the first person in the narrative. The accusation was clear: Ben Jelloun had only spoken about political repression once it became safe to do so, and had exploited the memories of the victims by writing a novel.

Ben Jelloun appears to have been blindsided by the criticism. He denied harassing anyone and claimed that it was Aziz Binebine's own brother, the writer and painter Mahi Binebine, who approached him to write a book about Tazmamart survivors. He defended himself vigorously against the charges of inaction, pointing out that few on the Moroccan left had known or spoken about the secret prison, whose existence was only revealed in 1990 by the French journalist Gilles Perrault in his biography *Notre ami le roi* (Our Friend the King), a searing account of the close relationship between the French government and the Moroccan monarchy. Ben Jelloun noted that he had given half his royalties from *This Blinding Absence of Light* to Aziz Binebine and promised to make donations to human rights organizations as well.

Still, the complaints continued. Why, asked Ben Jelloun's critics, had he been so outspoken against anti-Arab racism in France, Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories and Russian repression of the Chechen uprising, and yet so timid about his own country's "soft" dictatorship? Finally, in an interview with *Libération*, Ben Jelloun admitted, "I was like all other Moroccans—afraid. I did not want to take

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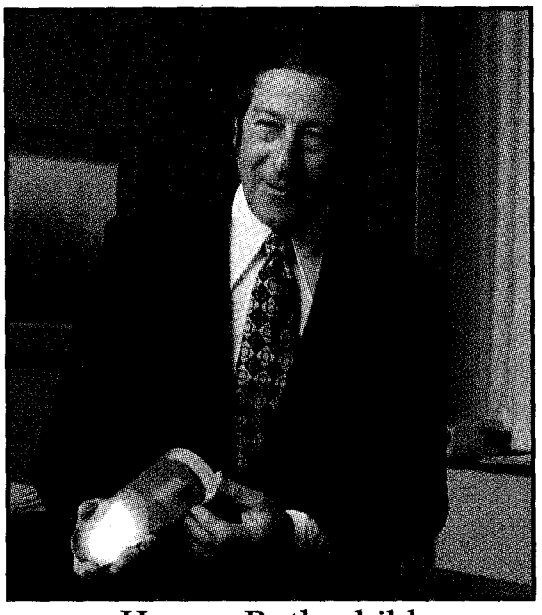

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the king head on. I wanted to be able to go back home." Living in Paris did not necessarily afford him any protection. After all, Moroccan secret police were said to routinely spy on students and intellectuals abroad, and they could be creative in their methods of repression. In an interview with *Maroc-Hebdo International*, Ben Jelloun offered his final defense: Aziz Binebine had written him a fan letter after the publication of *This Blinding Absence of Light*, commending him for the work he had done with the story and calling the novel "impeccable."

Given this history and the striking parallels between the novel and the author's life, it is tempting to read *The Last Friend* as Ben Jelloun's meditation on a career of writing and activism, and to think of the two main characters as mirrors he holds up to himself and to an imagined detractor on the left. Although Ali's last name is never revealed, the fact that it contains the particle "Ben" is enough to provide some clues. Like Ben Jelloun, Ali writes poetry, goes to university in Rabat and then teaches high school in the north. And like Ben Jelloun, Ali is reproached for his silence. Here is Mamed accusing Ali of inaction and duplicity: "When it came to political commitment.... You were never very brave. You always arranged things to appear to be someone you're not." Later in their argument, Mamed delivers the ultimate judgment: "You should never have gone to prison for your ideals, since they are totally insincere, a lot of hot air, a lot of talk." Even Ali's wife appears to resent his silence: "You're riddled with vanity. Ah, the respected teacher, the distinguished pedagogue, the old leftie who has fallen into line with the corrupt majority!"

But despite his rhetorical militancy, Mamed isn't particularly brave either. Reflecting on the failed coup, he says, "We knew only too well what those military officers who attacked the king's garden party were capable of. Morocco narrowly escaped a Fascist regime." The alternative to that regime was, however, a pro-West monarch who brutally repressed his critics. Yet like Ben Jelloun's detractors on the left, Mamed remains quiet—as quiet as Ali. After finishing medical school and leaving Tangier for Sweden, he seems to find a certain happiness with the "silence" and "order" of that country. Eventually, though, he starts to miss the old country, especially when he notices that his children "don't speak a word of Arabic" and "think of Morocco as a vacation place." This is why he decides to buy the apartment in Tangier, and why he asks Ali to help him furnish it and take care of the paperwork. Mamed's explanation for the breakup of the thirty-year relationship is heartbreaking, leaving the reader to reflect on the preciousness of friendship.

At this point, Ben Jelloun's narrative thread breaks again, and the Spaniard Ramon, who grew up in Tangier with Ali and Mamed, gives us his take on the events in the third and final part of the novel. "I understood that it was not simply a question of differing points of view," he begins. And indeed, what we discover in Ramon's account demonstrates that the bonds of friendship can be as strong as, and no less complicated than, those of love. Betrayal and desertion are not the cruel acts we imagine them to be. In Ben Jelloun's novel, they can also become carefully wrought expressions of love that lead, one day, to forgiveness.

Ben Jelloun's prose in *The Last Friend* is blunt, a stark contrast to the poetic, even hallucinatory style that characterized his early work, like *Harrouda*, or the lyrical passages of *This Blinding Absence of Light*. At times, the narrative voice slips into exposition or summary. When Ali talks about Mamed, he says simply, "I suddenly saw in him an unhappy young man, profoundly ill at ease, who disliked himself and everyone else, too. He needed psychiatric help. He wanted to try some kind of therapy, but he didn't want people to think he was crazy. He...generally kept to himself. I was the only person he would see. He trusted me, and made every effort to temper his mean streak. He retained his sense of irony, but used it more wisely."

This style of writing prevents the reader from fully engaging in the psychological life of the two narrators, which is odd, since *The Last Friend* is told in the first person—surely one of the best ways of letting us into the inner lives of fictional characters. Instead, they remain intractably distant from the reader. Of course, one of the central themes of the novel is the idiosyncratic nature of memory, so the narrators' evasiveness makes some sense. But by depriving the reader of a chance to witness events directly, Ben Jelloun is also depriving us of a chance to make up our own minds about the events as they happened. You will never know, he seems to say, because you weren't there. All you have is our individual recollections.

The Last Friend is more than the story of a friendship; it is the story of a generation of activists, writers and intellectuals who were caught between their desire to improve the lot of their country and their fear of a ruthlessly brutal regime, whose atrocities have just begun to be exorcised. As their work in *Souffles* makes abundantly clear, they loved their homeland; but they also hated their government, a stance that was not to be tolerated. Those who survived those years were intimidated and, in the end, silenced. Until now. ■

Pledging Allegiance

DANIEL LAZARE

THE INTELLECTUALS AND THE FLAG. By Todd Gitlin. Columbia. 167 pp. $24.95.

Is patriotism a positive political force? In much of the world, the answer is no or a highly qualified maybe. In Britain, English patriotism verges on the comical (see the collected works of Rowan Atkinson for more details), while the United Kingdom, an array of feudal fiefdoms stretching from the Channel to the North Sea, is far too antiquated a structure to stir up much patriotic passion in anyone other than a far-rightist. Does the average cockney's heart beat faster when contemplating the offshore bankers of Jersey or the noble fishermen of Shetland pressuring Brussels for more favorable cod quotas? Don't make us larf!

In France, *la patrie* is a political concept, meaning that one's view of it is a direct function of one's place on the left-right spectrum. If you're a Gaullist you may have some lingering attachment to *la France profonde*; if you're a liberal, you want to see it subsumed under the EU, while if you're among the 10 percent of the electorate that voted Trotskyist in the 2002 presidential elections, the very word smacks of Pétainism and the reactionary "integral" nationalism

Daniel Lazare, a frequent contributor to The Nation*'s Books & the Arts section, is writing a book about Islam, Christianity and Judaism for Pantheon.*

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of Charles Maurras. In Germany, patriotism is controversial due to certain nationalist excesses of the mid-twentieth century, while in Italy it exists only on a local level. In Canada, no one quite knows what it means, for the simple reason that no one quite knows what Canada means other than that part of North America that looks like the United States but doesn't believe in capital punishment, mass incarceration or the virtues of maintaining military bases in more than a hundred foreign countries.

Only in the United States does patriotism, among both liberals and conservatives, elicit an unqualified yes. Perhaps the most important reason has to do with the role of voluntarism in American constitutional thought. Despite being bound to the United States by countless laws and regulations, Americans cling to a concept of citizenship as a matter of choice. They are not Americans because they were born here or because economic necessity forced them to immigrate, supposedly, but because they want to be. Since the United States is not so much a nation as a calling, anyone wishing to participate in the American polity must make his or her loyalties clear. This is why politicians will launch into the most amazing bombast on a moment's notice about the United States being "the best country ever created and still, as ever, the hope of humankind" (to quote the hapless Al Gore in August 2000). The more they want the people's vote, the more they must trumpet their devotion. If patriotism is an unalloyed good, then more patriotism is better, while ultra-patriotism, the kind that equates the nation with the will of God, is best of all.

In his new book *The Intellectuals and the Flag*, Todd Gitlin uses patriotism to wallop the radical left, which he cannot forgive for being right about the direction of US military policy after 9/11, when he and other liberal intellectuals gathered around *Dissent* magazine were almost completely wrong. Living a mile north of the World Trade Center, Gitlin—a professor of journalism and sociology at Columbia, author of a well-known chronicle of 1960s radicalism (*The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*) and a member of the *Dissent* editorial board—got a stiff dose of patriotism as he watched the Twin Towers disintegrate in a cloud of smoke and debris. Overcome with emotion, he wandered downtown a few days later and joined a crowd of onlookers applauding dust-covered rescue workers emerging from the blast site.

"In those awful days," Gitlin informs us, "I found people—and a people to whom I belonged." Overcome with a feeling of oneness with all those shocked and horrified people in the street, he put up the Stars and Stripes to show where his sympathies lay. A few days later, when *New York Times* Metro columnist Clyde Haberman called seeking a comment about the American flags sprouting up all over the city, he mentioned that he happened to have one hanging from his apartment terrace. Haberman's article made Gitlin into a minor patriotic hero.

In his new book, Gitlin argues that the American left has consigned itself to the margins by failing to demonstrate its patriotic credentials.

But although Gitlin assumes in *The Intellectuals and the Flag* that it was natural to feel solidarity on that occasion on the basis of a common American identity, he could have felt solidarity on any number of bases—as a New Yorker, as a human being, as a secularist or as an anti-imperialist, to name just a few. Each mode implies a different form of politics, a different way of looking at the problem, and hence a different way of thinking about how to respond. The first, for example, might very well imply solidarity not only vis-à-vis Al Qaeda but vis-à-vis Texas oilmen whose view of compact, energy-efficient cities like New York is not much more benign. The second implies an ethical stance against the needless taking of human life by any actor in the conflict, while the third implies a condemnation of religious fanaticism in general, Muslim, Christian or Jewish. The fourth would almost certainly lead, among other things, to demands that Washington come clean about its dealings with militant fundamentalists in Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan, not to mention Israel and the American Bible Belt.

Instead, Gitlin responded as an American. Lots of other people in those fateful days did as well: Considering that Osama bin Laden had attacked Americans qua Americans, they found it difficult not to respond in kind. Nonetheless, responding as an American meant seeing 9/11 in essentially nationalist terms as a case of turbanned foreigners visiting evil on an innocent United States. When Katha Pollitt published a column in this magazine saying she would not fly the flag because it "stands for jingoism and vengeance and war," he was therefore incensed. He fired back with an article in *Mother Jones* accusing certain unnamed leftists of "smugness, acrimony, even schadenfreude"—an especially incendiary charge in those superheated times, since it implied that Pollitt and her co-thinkers derived pleasure from the suffering around them. After finishing with them, Gitlin attacked Noam Chomsky and the late Edward Said for statements he regarded as foolish or disloyal, and then rounded on Indian novelist Arundhati Roy for daring to suggest that Osama bin Laden was Bush's "dark doppelgänger" and that "the twins are blurring into one another and gradually becoming interchangeable." Today, with postinvasion deaths in Iraq outnumbering those in Lower Manhattan by better than thirty to one, Roy's sentiments seem positively mild. Yet for Gitlin they were indicative of "a prejudice invulnerable to moral distinctions" because, presumably, they failed to recognize that Al Qaeda is fundamentally evil, while America, of course, is fundamentally good.

Still, it could have been worse. Around the same time that Gitlin was sounding off in *Mother Jones*, *Dissent* editor Michael Walzer published an article in that magazine (which Gitlin approvingly cites here) not only echoing the charge of schadenfreude but accusing the left of sympathizing with Al Qaeda on the grounds that "any group that attacks the imperial power must be a representative of the oppressed, and its agenda must be the agenda of the left." National Security Administration wiretappers take note: Not only were leftists reveling in the bloodshed, they were plainly hoping for more.

With *The Intellectuals and the Flag*, Gitlin revisits the old battlefield, toning down his rhetoric somewhat but otherwise expanding on the theme that radicals must learn to love the flag and embrace patriotism if they wish to be effective. The first thing to be said about *The Intellectuals and the Flag*, a grab bag of essays touching on everything from postmodernism and cultural studies to the role of the universities in fostering intelligent political debate, is that it is a very bad book—badly written, badly argued and studded with non sequiturs and intellectual clichés. The second thing is that it is one of those bad books that nonetheless touch upon an important topic, even if it is a bit more complicated than the author apparently realizes.

As Gitlin sees it, leftists come in two varieties, the loyal kind and the more radical sort typified by his bêtes noires Chomsky and Said. The first group tries to understand America; when it criticizes America, it does so, more in sorrow than in anger,

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from within as a loyal member of the moral community. The second, on the other hand, is exclusively negative, carping and complaining about nearly everything America does, no matter how justified or well intended. When America tries to defend itself or use its power to prevent some grievous abuse abroad, the only thing the radicals can say, according to Gitlin, is that "the Empire Is Striking Back." As he puts it: "In their eyes Bill Clinton's interventions in behalf of the rights of Bosnian and Kosovar Muslims were as wicked as any and all other interventions." Since everything America does is wicked, then America, from their perspective, must be wicked itself.

Never mind that Chomsky is actually a critical patriot who is on record as declaring that the United States is "the best country in the world" or that Said, rather than a leftist, was an old-fashioned liberal who happened to champion a national movement the pro-Israel editors at *Dissent* do not much like. With his ideology of "for us or against us," Gitlin is impervious to such fine points. As he sees it, leftists have two choices: They can turn their backs on the United States on the grounds that it is hopelessly reactionary or pledge allegiance to the United States so as to become bona fide members of the American polity and work from within. "Democratic patriotism," he says, does not mean mindless genuflection but recognition that the United States is complex and multihued, continually washed over by powerful crosscurrents from both the left and the right. Instead of condemning American power in toto, he maintains that leftists should "acknowledge—and wrestle with—the dualities of America: the liberty and arrogance twinned, the bullying and tolerance, myopia and energy, standardization and variety, ignorance and inventiveness, the awful dark heart of darkness and the self-reforming zeal." One senses that Gitlin could go on in this pseudo-Whitmanesque fashion for pages at a time. Still, the bottom line seems to be that loving America is a must for leftists, but so is criticizing it, because that is what real love requires.

This is a familiar argument, but not a coherent one. Although *The Intellectuals and the Flag* never makes it clear exactly why leftists should love their country, a number of possibilities present themselves. There is the tactical argument, for one, which holds that leftists should conform to local custom and profess patriotism because that is the only way to enter "the mainstream." There is the practical argument that leftists should wake up and recognize that internationalism has failed and that the nation-state is the only remaining democratic arena. Instead of denigrating America, they should be more supportive. And then there is the emotional argument, the idea that we all hold dear some concept of a homeland—*Heimat*, in German—because, to quote Brecht, "the bread tastes better there, the air smells better, voices sound stronger, the sky is higher, the ground is easier to walk on." Since we live in the land of hot dogs, baseball and apple pie, it's only natural to be loyal to it.

Yet none of these positions really holds water. The trouble with the tactical argument is that it rings with insincerity. Love is not something one expresses in order to gain political advantage; rather, love has to be heartfelt to be real. The practical argument is not persuasive, simply because the nation-state's record has been so obviously negative over the past century or so. The United Nations, the European Union, not to mention the former Soviet-sponsored Comecon (i.e., the East European Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and indeed the former USSR itself, all arose out of the belief that the nation-state was

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an outmoded form that could only lead to stepped-up war and repression and that it had to be replaced with something newer and more expansive. Although some have tried to fudge the difference by arguing that patriotism is permissible as part of an international community of peace-minded *patries*, the fit between patriotism and internationalism has never been a comfortable one.

The emotional argument founders simply because the nation-state does not necessarily equate with *Heimat*. America is a country torn by cultural warfare. There is no reason for a liberal New Yorker or Californian to feel more at home in, say, Texas than in Toronto or Paris, even though these cities lie outside the confines of the legal entity known as the United States. "To make us love our country, our country ought to be lovely," said Edmund Burke. Yet "lovely" is the last word many Americans would use to describe "their" country, with its strip malls, evangelical churches and right-wing talk-radio.

And, finally, there is the moral-ideological argument that America is superior to other nations—fairer, more just and more democratic—and that it is hence entitled to our special admiration and respect. But this is actually a very dangerous one from a patriotic point of view. After all, one can't merely assert that one's country is morally superior. One must prove it, which implies not only a common international standard to measure it against but also the possibility that, once the sifting and winnowing is over, the nation in question will stand exposed as no better than other nations in its class and maybe even worse. If the former is the case, then it is not entitled to any special regard, while if it's the latter, then it is actually entitled to less. If we agree that political morality is to be the final determinant, then we must agree that one should not be loyal to one's country as a matter of course.

The notion of a common international standard implies something else: the importance of an international perspective. Patriotism "privileges" one viewpoint above all others, the view from within the fishbowl as opposed to those from without. This is true for any form of patriotism, but it is especially the case for the United States, the oldest republic on the face of the earth, the most insular and the most powerful (despite the deepening disaster in Iraq). By encouraging Americans to turn inward, patriotism allows them to turn their backs on the outside world, something all too easy in a nation of 300 million people bounded, as it has been said, by insignificant military powers to the north and south and by fish to the east and west. Yet the result, paradoxically, is not to disengage from the world at large but to strike out in an increasingly brutal and erratic fashion.

This is what made 9/11 such a turning point. Previously, Americans paid little attention as the government unleashed reactionary violence on faraway countries they knew little about. But when forces fueled and financed by Washington turned on their erstwhile sponsor and unleashed frightening violence within the United States, their reaction was one of rage and panic. Instead of reassessing their international role, Americans immediately responded by demanding that defenses be reinforced and the great American bubble be restored. With remarkable rapidity, Americans fell into line as Washington began lashing out at an array of enemies from the Korean Peninsula to the Middle East. Stepped-up patriotism led to a breakdown in democracy not only by encouraging an atmosphere of wartime authoritarianism but by discouraging anything by way of an objective international comparison that would enable Americans to see how far they had fallen. Patriotism robs people of perspective. By requiring them to turn their gaze inward, it encourages them in the view that their country is sui generis, a case apart, and therefore not to be judged on the same basis as other countries. While "democratic patriotism" may leave some room for criticism of specific conditions, it shields the nation as a whole by turning it into an object of veneration at exactly the moment when unsparing criticism from top to bottom is most required.

'Democratic patriotism' isn't uncritical of America, but it inhibits unsparing questioning exactly when it's most urgently needed.

Yet rather than calling for less veneration, Gitlin is calling for more. This would seem to make no sense, but perhaps that is the point. As the title of his new book suggests, Gitlin aims his argument at American intellectuals, a group he never attempts to define although at times he seems to regard it as synonymous with the left. In seeking to advance a deliberately incoherent argument, perhaps he is seeking to de-intellectualize the intelligentsia, to somehow pressure it—and, by extension, Americans in general—into thinking less. This, after all, is what authoritarianism does: By inducing people to worship artificial totems, it encourages them to switch off their critical faculties. The result is greater compliance and less independent thought, a win-win situation for the right.

Not surprisingly, *The Intellectuals and the Flag* fairly abounds with political misjudgment regarding other topics as well. Nearly as angry at the Bush Administration these days as he is at those to his left, Gitlin writes that the mindless "repetition of stock phrases—'war on terror,' 'axis of evil,' 'root causes'"—is somehow impeding "public discussion of how this state of affairs came to pass and what can be done about it." Those trying to figure out why the attack on the World Trade Center occurred are thus no better than those who insist that Al Qaeda did it because "they hate our freedoms."

Gitlin insists that "patriotism has no quarrel with robust dissent," a statement that is little short of stunning considering not only the decline in political debate since 9/11 but his own role in squelching it. He argues that patriotism can serve as a useful basis for mobilization against Bushonomics and corporate ripoffs: "Americans did not take much reminding that when the skyscrapers were on fire, they needed fire fighters and police officers, not Enron hustlers or Arthur Andersen accountants. Yet we confront an administration that gaily passes out tax largesse to the plutocracy, whose idea of sacrifice is that somebody in a blue collar should perform it for low wages." But as he should know from his history books, populism and patriotism can make for an explosive combination. Nationalist anger at un-American plutocrats in corporate boardrooms can lead all too easily to nationalist anger at un-American intellectuals in the universities and the press.

Gitlin also offers a halfhearted defense of the war in Iraq. While complaining that Bush's reasons for going to war were "shabby, sloppy, and evasive," he insists that "the other powers' approach" was also deficient and that overthrowing the Iraqi Baathists was not without its "virtues." Like Thomas Friedman, he evidently regards Iraq as the right war fought for the wrong reasons. Citing his fellow *Dissent*-nik Paul Berman, Gitlin bravely inveighs against Islamic fundamentalism as "a poisonous, nihilist, totalitarian creed allied, in its ideological DNA, to fascism and communism." But he neglects to ex-

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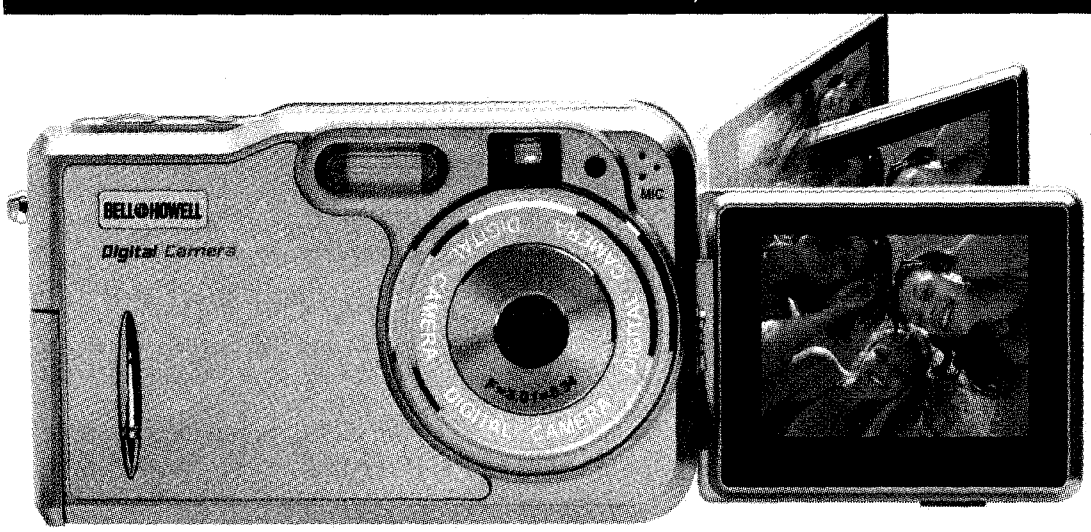

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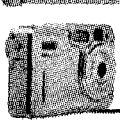
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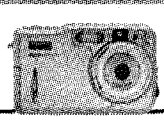
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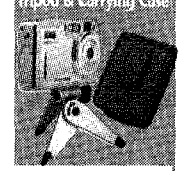

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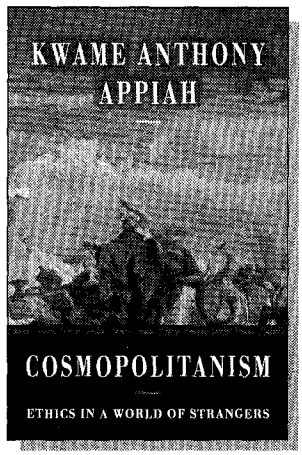

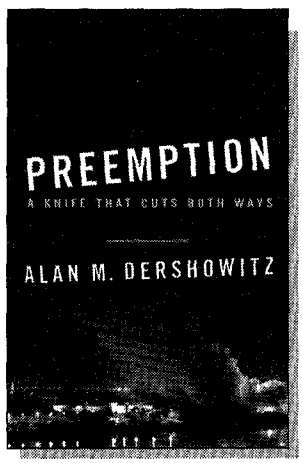

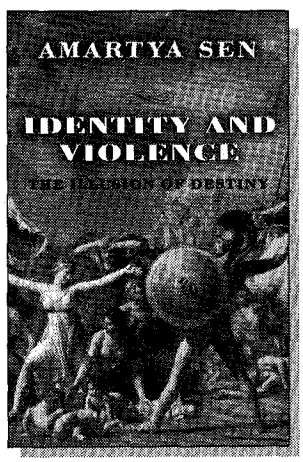

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plain why, if Islamic fundamentalism and Soviet Communism are ideological brothers, they would fight a war to the death in Afghanistan and why the United States would provide the Afghan mujahedeen with billions of dollars in military aid. After all, ideological kin are more often allies than enemies. He also writes that "for a century...there has been no more murderous force in the world than totalist ideologies" such as Stalinism, Maoism and the radical peasant autarchy of the Khmer Rouge. This is a common sentiment these days, but what about democracy, socialism and science? They are equally "totalist," yet have been immensely liberating. *Pace* Gitlin, it is impossible to change society from top to bottom without a theory as to how it functions as a totality.

Finally, making a show of progressive politics, Gitlin criticizes America's runaway energy appetite. "Oil makes the United States grovel before Saudi tyrants," he declares. "Oil lubricated the disastrous U.S. support for the brutal shah of Iran.... Oil floated the tyranny of Saddam Hussein." True enough, dubious grammar notwithstanding. But oil as a motivating force behind Bush's invasion of Iraq? Forget about it. Gitlin doesn't even mention the possibility, presumably because it runs counter to his thesis that the war was a well-intentioned, if badly executed, attempt to rid the world of a noxious tyrant. He is apparently one of those naïve souls who, to quote the dreaded Noam Chomsky, believe that the United States "would have invaded Iraq if it was an island in the Indian Ocean and its main export was pickles, not petroleum."

One could go on, but why bother? *The Intellectuals and the Flag* is yet more evidence that the incompetence that has led to the greatest foreign-policy disaster in memory is not limited to Congress or the White House but extends across the entire foreign-policy establishment, from the *Wall Street Journal* on the right to *Dissent* on the left. In surrendering to the ecstasies of flag-worship, Gitlin and his co-thinkers turned off their critical faculties at exactly the moment they should have been turning them up to the maximum. The consequences have not been pretty in America or Iraq, and they look as if they're only going to get worse. ■

Life Is Sweet

PETER COWIE

FEDERICO FELLINI: His Life and Work.
By Tullio Kezich. Translated by Minna Proctor.
Faber and Faber. 444 pp. $35.

The documentary filmmaker Gideon Bachmann, who made an ambivalent study of Fellini titled *Ciao, Federico!*, likes to recall the premiere of *8½* in New York, when he, Fellini and his entourage entered the Paris Theatre on 58th Street. Ingmar Bergman, on a rare visit to the States, had apparently been sending letters to Fellini for some years, without reply. Now Fellini turned to Bachmann and asked him who was this young man retreating before him down the aisle. Such was Fellini's superstar status in the summer of 1963.

More than any other "foreign" director, Federico Fellini beguiled and delighted the American public. He was awarded five Oscars, more than his peers Bergman and Kurosawa, and his masterpieces, such as *La Strada* and *8½*, continue to enjoy excellent sales on DVD. Fellini may be viewed as a laughing seer, a portly lecher, a lapsed Catholic. He could succumb—without a trace of embarrassment—to the frivolous and the bombastic. His later films often spiraled away into an indecipherable landscape of half-baked dialogue, outlandish characters and cheesy sets. Impious though it sounds, Fellini was fortunate to die when he did, in 1993. He had not made a major film for two decades, and critics damned each new one with the faintest of praise. In the years since his passing, however, his reputation has soared. Retrospectives multiply. Exhibits of his drawings, sketches and photographs travel from city to city. At last count, he had around 3 million references on Google.

Fellini seems to embody all that was rich and experimental about the 1950s and

Peter Cowie is the author of many books on film, most recently Revolution! The Explosion of World Cinema in the Sixties *(Faber and Faber).*

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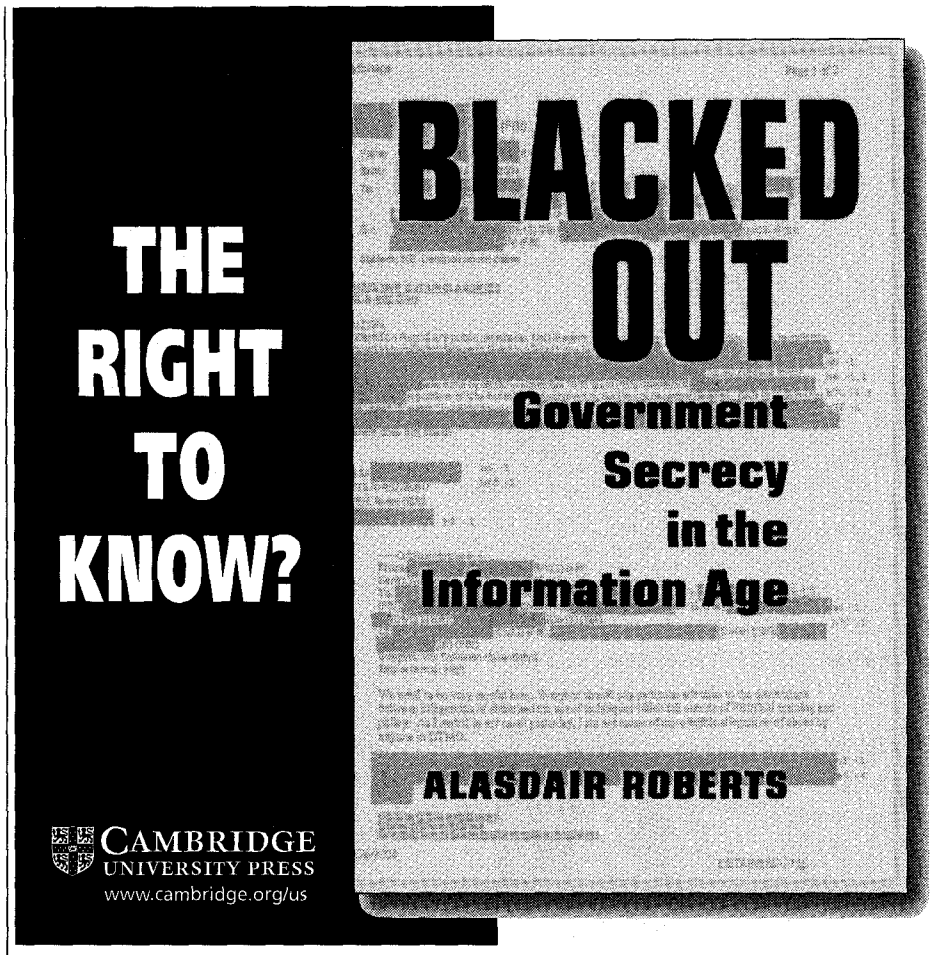
'60s in Europe. The warmth of his spirit, like Truffaut's, appeals to a new generation that's now more diffident toward the clinical, cynical brilliance of a Godard.

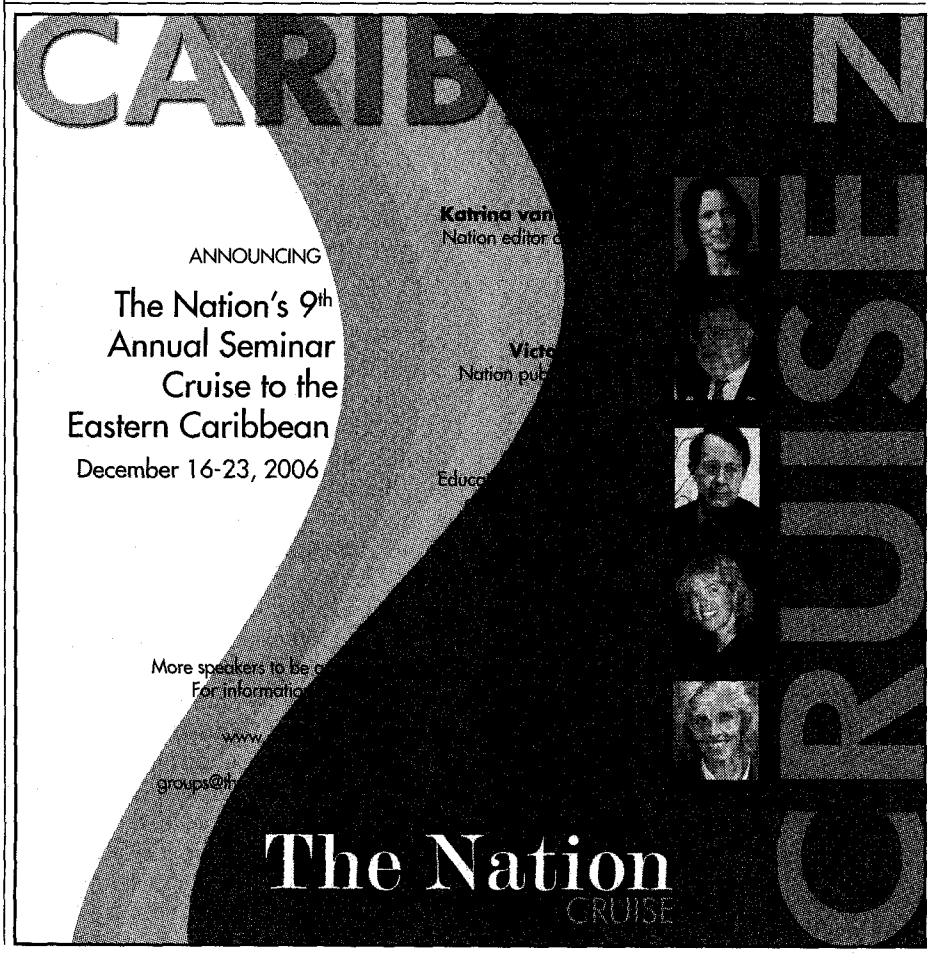
The private life of a great director does not always shed light on his artistic accomplishments. One need know nothing of Wajda, Buñuel or Kaurismäki offscreen to come to intimate terms with their work. Fellini, however, like Bergman, Visconti and Welles, wore his life on his sleeve, as it were. Each new film seemed to exorcise a particular demon or scrutinize a personal foible.

He has been graced with a profusion of books—some thirty in English, French and Italian at last count—but Tullio Kezich's biography surpasses them all. Trenchant in its critical analysis, absorbing and sympathetic in its account of his private life, Kezich's *Fellini* is a revelation. It effaces virtually everything written to date about the Italian maestro. Told in the present tense with relish and urgency, it reads like a chronicle, a biographical paean worthy of Boswell. Kezich first met the young maestro at the Venice Film Festival in 1952, and remained his friend and confidant for forty years. But the book is not merely a biography. Kezich, the much respected critic for the Italian daily *Corriere della Sera* in Milan, brings an analytical eye to bear on each film. He writes particularly well about Fellini's relationships with his screenwriters and his contemporary filmmakers in Italy, and his richly textured portrait of Fellini's youth in Rimini and Rome illuminates so much of *I Vitelloni*, *Roma* and *Amarcord*.

By the time World War II broke out, Fellini was on the cusp of his 20s. He churned out newspaper articles by the hundreds, and soon began contributing to radio shows. By 1942 he was contributing to screenplays, aided and abetted by friends like actor-entertainer Aldo Fabrizi and Cesare Zavattini, the "father" of Italian neorealism. The following year he married Giulietta Masina, whose "elfin aura" would enchant him until his death half a century later.

Roberto Rossellini, eager to sign Fabrizi to star in *Roma, Città Aperta* (Rome, Open City; 1945), sought out Fellini as a means of reaching the actor. Their collaboration on the script with Sergio Amidei sealed Fellini's commitment to movies. The two great auteurs could not have been more different: Rossellini, cavalier with money and women, consumed by an austere yearning for scientific knowledge; and Fellini, despite his libidinous reputation, deep down a loyal husband and a meticu-





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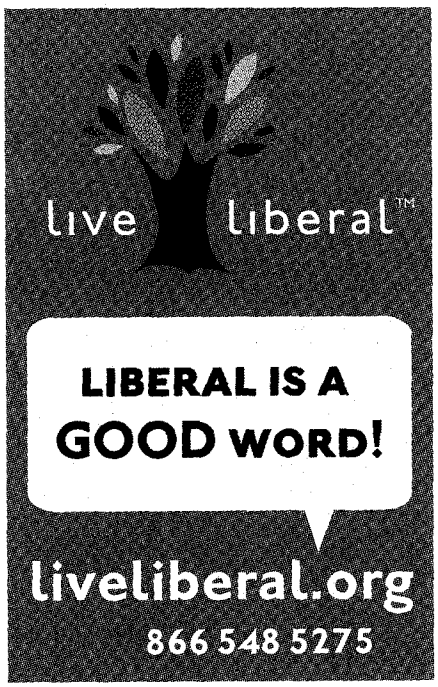

lous craftsman. Fellini honed his writing skills on films such as *Paisan*, *L'Amore* (with Fellini himself playing a bum who sleeps with Anna Magnani) and *The Flowers of St. Francis*.

Yet Fellini never seemed quite at home in the domain of neorealism. While Rossellini believed with absolute moral certainty in his documentary approach to cinema, Fellini veered toward a land of dreams and congenial eroticism. In 1950 he at last cut his teeth as a director, working alongside his mentor Alberto Lattuada on *Variety Lights*. Fellini seemed more comfortable describing the world of small-time vaudeville. Like Bergman, with whom he would finally become friends in the late 1960s, he adored the smell of the greasepaint, if not the roar of the crowd.

The White Sheik (1952) marked Fellini's solo debut behind the camera, and also the birth of his amazingly fruitful collaboration with composer Nino Rota. Kezich describes the relationship as "a phenomenon of empathy, irrationality, and magic.... From the beginning, Rota understands Fellini's twofold aesthetic of cheer and melancholy." *The White Sheik* withered at the box office, cursed by reviews that ranged from tepid to hostile, while impressing the occasional critic with its anarchic wit.

Fellini's first real success came a year later with *I Vitelloni* (Italian slang for overgrown kids). Kezich emphasizes that the film, which follows the exploits of five aimless, mischievous men resisting the responsibilities of adulthood, was not autobiographical in the sense that *Amarcord* (1973) would be: "Fellini was never a *vitellone*; he left home long before he hit the *vitellone* age." Nor did the director set the film in his native Rimini, preferring to invent a seaside town that evoked the Adriatic coast in winter. When *I Vitelloni* opened in the United States in November 1956, *Newsweek* hailed it as "Marty—Italian Style." It would exert a considerable influence on future filmmakers, from Lina Wertmüller (*The Lizards*), to Martin Scorsese (*Mean Streets*), George Lucas (*American Graffiti*), Barry Levinson (*Diner*) and even Joel Schumacher (*St. Elmo's Fire*).

So began Fellini's heyday—and payday. With *La Strada*, *Nights of Cabiria* and *La Dolce Vita*, he became Italy's most controversial and best-loved director. The screenplay for *La Strada*—the film won the Silver Lion at Venice in 1954, outshining Visconti's *Senso*—had been in gestation for three years, stemming from a vague, abstract idea that Tullio Pinelli and Fellini had concerning vagabonds, and the small circuses that toured Italy in that period. Giulietta Masina, cast as Gelsomina, saw her character as "a sort of Cinderella, an ill-fated victim, a perfectly sweet creature." Fellini, however, conceived her as "a strange brand of fighter." He obliged Masina to cut her hair and bleach it yellow. Then he added shaving cream and talcum powder to make it shaggy. A chance meeting with Anthony Quinn and Richard Basehart gave Fellini his Zampanò and his Matto, the two contrasting males who change the life of poor Gelsomina.

La Strada swept Fellini to international fame, winning innumerable awards and eventually, in the early spring of 1957, the inaugural Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film. Another Fellini-Masina collaboration, *Nights of Cabiria* (1957), brought Fellini his second Oscar in successive years. Kezich notes that although Fellini was fascinated by women, frequently unfaithful and, just like his *vitelloni*, possessed of a bawdy sense of humor, he was, in his devotion to Masina, "entirely monogamous.... Having Giulietta at his side was a necessary constant to his existence."

The current improvement in Fellini's critical stature is exemplified by *La Dolce Vita* (1960). Back in the early 1960s, it was fashionable to dismiss Fellini's lumbering fresco of a corrupt and indolent Italian bourgeoisie as somewhat lurid and shallow (Kezich reports that the applause at its Rome premiere lasted all of twenty seconds). In an observation characteristic of the film's critics at the time, Pauline Kael sneered that *La Dolce Vita* was

> like poking your head into a sack of fertilizer and then becoming indignant that you're covered with excrement. The aim, the scale, the pretensions, the message are too big for the subject matter: tabloid sensationalism and upper-class apathy and corruption. Fellini is shocked and horrified—like the indignant housewives who can't get enough details of Elizabeth Taylor's newest outrage, and think she should be banned from the screen. I don't think he's simply exploiting the incidents and crimes and orgies of modern Rome in the manner of a Hollywood biblical spectacle, but *La Dolce Vita* is a sort of *Ben-Hur* for the more, but not *very* much more, sophisticated.

Antonioni's slow-moving, enigmatic *L'Avventura* (1960), Visconti's Marxist epic *Rocco and His Brothers* (1960) and Fran-

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cesco Rosi's *vérité*-style *Salvatore Giuliano* (1962) appealed much more to the intellectual sensibility of the period. Yet now, with *La Dolce Vita* gloriously restored for DVD, the pendulum has swung back to Fellini. The film seems richer and, as Kezich declares, its "poetry comes out of its respect for its characters, even the most notorious and undeserving ones. It comes from the measure of positivism that is part of the negative solutions that Marcello [the journalist] considers. It comes from the awareness that the paths to serenity are many."

Soon afterward, Fellini began seeing a psychoanalyst named Dr. Ernst Bernhard, no fewer than three times a week for four years. Fellini always "liked to let his mind wander, to fantasize and float in a half-sleeping, half-waking state." He would dash off drawings and caricatures of dreams that had come to him during the night. In this new state of mind, he embarked on one of the cinema's greatest explorations of creativity, *8½* (1963). Marcello Mastroianni, whose portrayal of the journalist in *La Dolce Vita* had propelled him to stardom, now played Fellini's alter ego—the irresolute, jaded director who is at once at home and afraid in the turbulent circus that is commercial film-making. Guido is distracted by his chocolate-box mistress and by his astringent wife. He is unsettled by sporadic memories of his Catholic childhood. The two most impressive women in this climate of sexual fallibility—the monstrous Saraghina and the beneficent Claudia—represent the poles of his yearning, and also the familiar comic and hallucinatory extremes of Fellini's world. The greatness of Fellini in *8½* resides in his ability to sublimate his complexes and flights of imagination. His art can be seen as that of a funambulist, dependent for its thriving less on grace than on some intuitive panache and a mastery of illusion.

From then on, each new work from Fellini became a media event, yet each proved a disappointment. There were always incidental pleasures, naturally: the performance of Giulietta Masina in *Juliet of the Spirits* (1965), the wistful, fairground music of Nino Rota or the luscious cinematography of Giuseppe Rotunno (who had taken over as Fellini's favorite cameraman after the death of Gianni Di Venanzo). There were mighty subjects for the tackling—*Satyricon* (1969), *Casanova* (1976)—but Fellini's only great achievements after *8½* would be his most intensely personal. *Roma* (1972) remains a neglected masterpiece, using the building of a subway sys-

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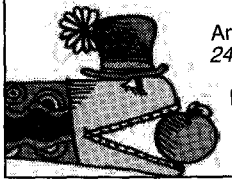

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■ Four books, four authors, for freedom. Stephen Bronner (*Blood in the Sand*), Stanley Aronowitz (*How Class Works*), Frances Fox Piven (*The War at Home*) and Cornel West (*Democracy Matters*) come together to discuss freedom and political resistance at 6 PM on Thursday, March 16, at the New School (66 West 12th Street). Sponsored by the Wolfson Center for National Affairs. Information at boxoffice@newschooledu or (212) 229-5488. Tickets: $10. Students free with ID.

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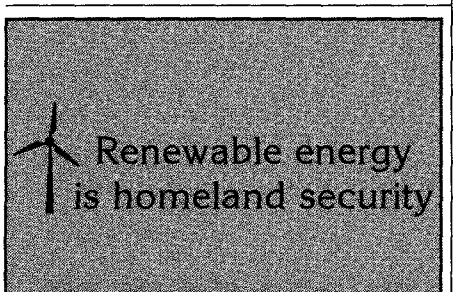

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tem as a means of speculating on life and art. The loss of innocence, the recurrent motif in Fellini's cinema, is found beneath the streets of the ancient city, as blundering engineers drill into the unexpected rooms of an ancient villa and then watch incredulously as the frescoes dissolve before the onslaught of twentieth-century air. And in the ecclesiastical fashion show, as vulgar as Vegas, Fellini passes his most scathing comment on the established church of his youth. When the Pope emerges on high, preceded by skeletons and illuminated by a blaze of garish neon, the satire seems tinged (as always in Fellini) with a wide-eyed fascination, a worship of the bizarre and the grotesque.

His final tour de force was *Amarcord* (1973). Diffuse and meandering in form, *Amarcord* recaptured the atmosphere of Rimini during Fellini's childhood in the late 1920s. It is, comments Kezich, "remarkable in its portrayal, with just a hint of commiseration, of a rather backward community, living in the shadow of flags and still caught in Victorian emotions." The breathtaking authority of such images as the peacock spreading its plumage in the snow and the huge liner looming through the night like an ideal confirmed Fellini's unrivaled brilliance as a fantasist. This masterpiece of magic realism was altogether more romantic than *I Vitelloni*, and won Fellini his fourth Academy Award.

The closing years were littered with ephemera, occasionally bitter (*Orchestra Rehearsal*, 1979), and for the most part nostalgic (*And the Ship Sails On*, 1983; *Ginger and Fred*, 1986; *Intervista*, 1987). Perhaps only the failure of Lasse Hallström's *Casanova* (2005) helped one to recognize a certain mysterious elegance in Fellini's film about the great Venetian lover. Sadly, the maestro's last celluloid dreams came in the form of three commercials for Banca di Roma. Kezich, loyal to the end, writes that although these tidbits last just over six minutes, "Obviously length is no predictor of value; otherwise, how does one value Mozart's Viennese Sonatina, or a Picasso sketch, or a high note from Pavarotti that lasts only a few seconds?"

This engrossing biography mirrors its subject. It's affectionate, garrulous and often rambling, and in sudden flashes of brilliance it offers a penetrating view of Fellini's life and art. Dying, Fellini assumed the mantle of myth, and on November 2, 1993, an estimated 70,000 people filed into Studio 5 at Cinecittà to view his corpse—dressed, adds Kezich with ghoulish accuracy, in the tuxedo he wore for his Oscar acceptance. ■

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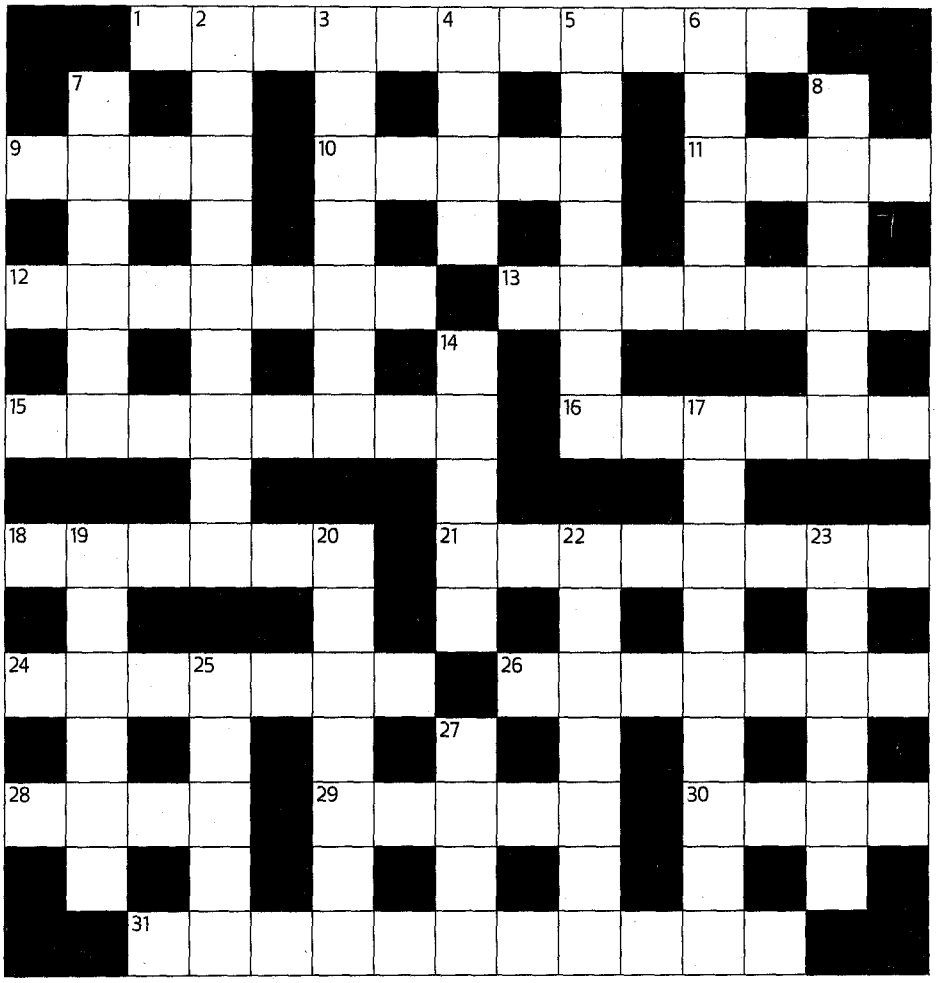

ACROSS

1 Swap something confidential with someone—though some business firm might like to keep this. (5,6)

9 You are getting close to finding something if they tell you that you are this. (4)

10 and **11** Its products may end up somewhat syrupy, though to many it's just a yard inhabitant. (5,4)

12 Supposedly spicy, in a lively sense, when you get to change something a bit, around a knotted tie. (7)

13 Did Oberon consider her more than a giant, ending up ready for the draft? (7)

15 Pertaining to curved surfaces, little Mr. Washington of the French, thus. (8)

16 Argue with someone like an old witch that has a broken leg. (6)

18 Stops the launch, because a boat's wrecked, which is just about right! (6)

21 They may be the brass type, or just those things given after a big sweat! (8)

24 The position of a high churchman might be just to look after things. (7)

26 A Scottish lexicographer made to go back with one in a live state. (7)

28 Gore had trouble with it, therefore. (4)

29 and **30** May be somewhat dotty, but also shows a lot of dash. (5,4)

31 Acted in a Jacksonian fashion, but just refused to be accommodating! (11)

DOWN

2 What is left is just a nudge to your memory about a common article. (9)

3 Seed sprouts around the climbing cat—which is how one gets put down! (7)

4 Takes the energy out of silly people? (4)

5 Rather expensive in Paris, in his confusion, to hold someone in deep affection. (7)

6 A special edition of the next radio show. (5)

7 and **19** Bravo, my Adam—confused, but novel! (6,6)

8 In coming up in a business arrangement, it's what some people have about their worst traits. (6)

14 and **27** In the field, he might be set up—just for the birds—though he went along with Dorothy. (9)

17 An ornamental architectural pattern showing some deceit about Ness, for example. (9)

19 See 7

20 Point to the lady's significant other—he looks like a tank! (7)

22 A large part of 8 in the extreme—though the unimpressed may snort like this. (3,4)

23 What tradesmen belonged to, though it sounds like what the extreme do to the lily. (6)

25 Just a thing the hen's mate does, sort of a sort about nothing. (5)

27 See 14

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

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N		A		R		H		A		A		H		T
P	A	N	T	I	L	E		C	H	I	M	E	R	A
U		T		D		R		K		L		R		S
T	H	E		G	O	L	D	E	N		R	U	L	E
		E		E		O		D		H		B		N
S	A	N	D	W	I	C	H		F	I	E	S	T	A
Q				O		K		V		P				M
U	M	P	I	R	E		K	E	E	P	S	A	K	E
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G	R	E	E	N		S	K	E	L	E	T	O	N	S

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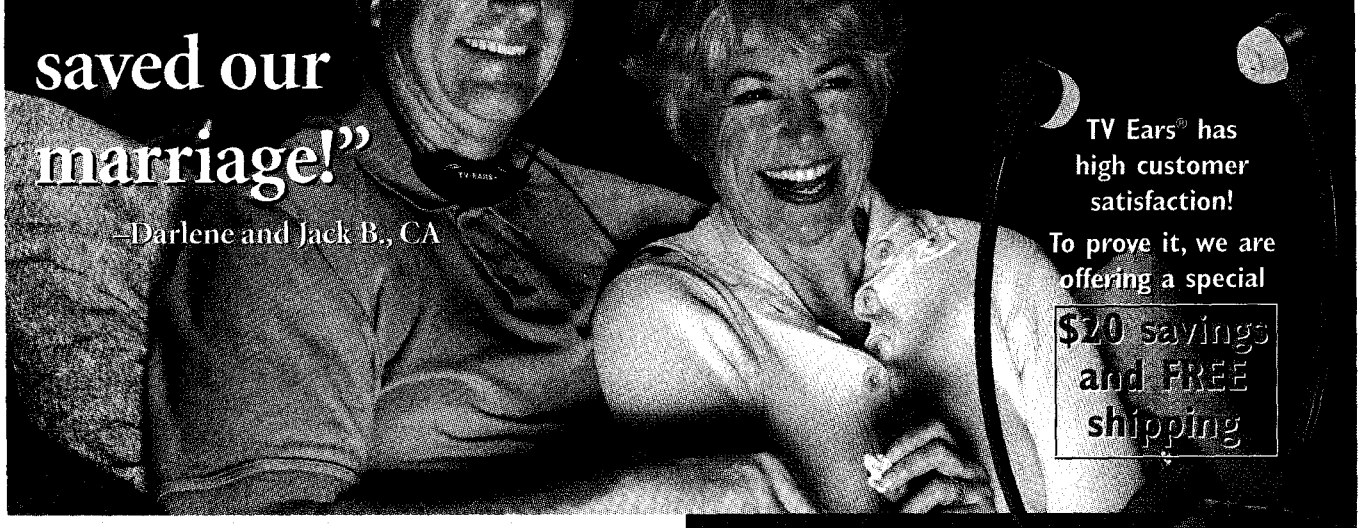

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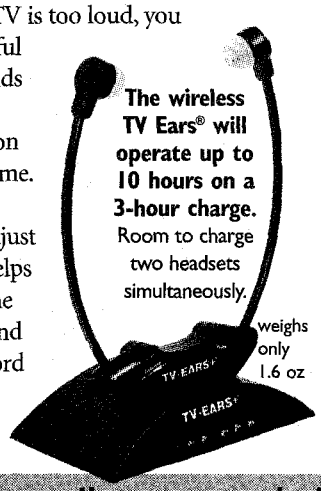

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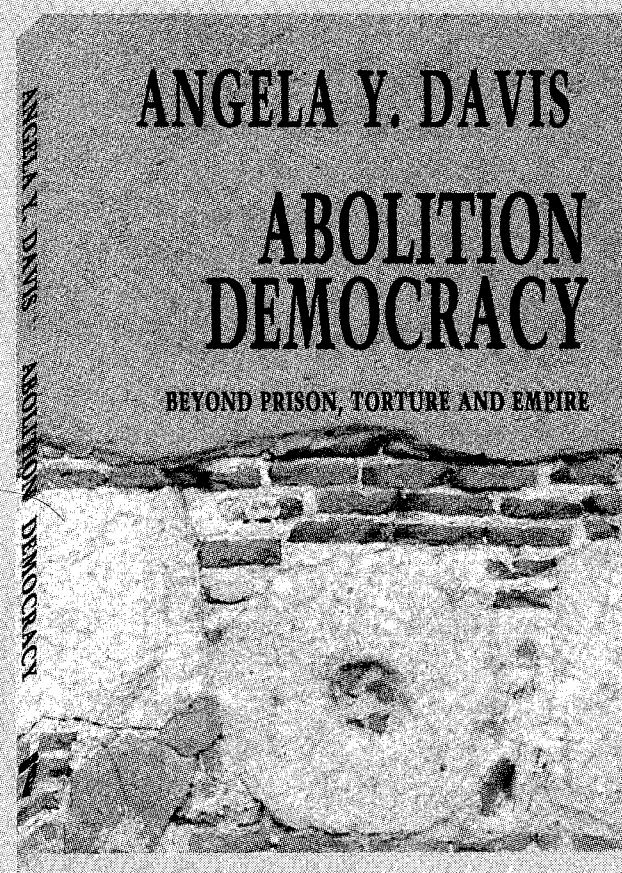

ANGELA Y. DAVIS is a professor of history of consciousness at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Over the last thirty years, she has been active in numerous organizations challenging prison-related repression. Her advocacy on behalf of political prisoners led to three capital charges, sixteen months in jail awaiting trial, and a highly publicized campaign then acquittal in 1972. Her books include *Are Prisons Obsolete?*, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday*, and forthcoming from Columbia University Press, *Prisons and History*.

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